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The University of Southern Mississippi

A BEACON OF LIGHT: TOUGALOO DURING THE PRESIDENCY  
OF DR. ADAM DANIEL BEITTEL (1960-1964)

by

John Gregory Speed

Abstract of a Dissertation  
Submitted to the Graduate School  
of The University of Southern Mississippi  
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

May 2014

## ABSTRACT

### A BEACON OF LIGHT: TOUGALOO DURING THE PRESIDENCY OF DR. ADAM DANIEL BEITTEL (1960-1964)

by John Gregory Speed

May 2014

This study examines leadership efforts that supported the civil rights movements that came from administrators and professors, students and staff at Tougaloo College between 1960 and 1964. A review of literature reveals that little has been written about the college's role in the Civil Rights Movement during this time. Thus, one goal of this study is to fill a gap in the historical record.

A second purpose of this study is to examine the challenges of progressive leadership at a historically Black college in Mississippi during the Civil Rights Movement when a White president was at the helm.

When Dr. Adam D. Beittel was appointed the Tougaloo president in 1960, African Americans in Mississippi were facing difficult times. At first, Beittel and the college seemed a perfect fit. Both had extensive histories of outreach and ministries. At Tougaloo, Beittel became recognized as an extraordinary college administrator, mainly in his ability to increase student enrollment, boost external funding, and to improve buildings and the school's physical plant.

In spite of Beittel's accomplishments, his presidency was not long lasting. In fact, it came to an unforeseen and abrupt end on September 1, 1964, with Beittel's forced resignation. By that time, the pressures of leading a historically

Black college during such adverse times had strained Beittel's relationships, even those from within his group of allies, and his supporters throughout the Jackson community.

During Beittel's presidency at Tougaloo, nearby civil rights battles were waged, such as the integrating of Jackson's lunch counters, churches, libraries, and entertainment venues. This study focuses on the roles Beittel and other Tougaloo administrators and professors played in these critical events between 1960 and 1964.

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A Dissertation  
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My parents, Bryan and Jane Speed, deserve more veneration than I am able to express here. They have been endless reminders and exemplifications of the significance of education, always encouraging their sons, as well as their grandchildren, to take another class, read an additional book, and to glean knowledge whenever and wherever possible. In childhood and youth, as friends were going to amusement parks and fairs, and we, as a family, were going to museums, galleries, theatres, opera houses, and historical battlefields, I did not “get it.” Now, I do! My parents, as I now recognize, were teaching their sons the

value of learning through experiences that were truly transformational. For my parents' inspiration, support, and unending love, I am eternally grateful!

I am gratified to have several extraordinary friends. While it is impractical to mention each of them, I am compelled to acknowledge C. J. Moran, one of my closest friends and a trusted advisor, who undeniably deserves recognition for his contribution to this study. Although he is remarkable in more ways that I can mention here, I would like to note his love of education, which is stirring to many of his peers, and has often been infectious for me, particularly when I found myself weary with academic endeavors. C. J. is currently a biomedical and pre-pharmacy student at The University of South Alabama, where he is frequently recognized for his exceptional coursework. I am confident that he will soon be an outstanding pharmacist and that he will contribute to the alleviation of pain and suffering of those for whom he will serve in this profession. I am forever thankful for his friendship and for his willingness to share the pains and sufferings of his friends. I am gratified, more than words can express, to be one of them.

To the many individuals who had a part in this research, but whom I am unable to name here, please know that your encouragement, friendship, and enthusiasm inspired this work. I will forever remember all that you have done, and I give you thanks.

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measured amount of constructive criticism, always mixed with a larger heaping of encouragement and praise. I remain in awe of his extensive knowledge of the history of higher education in America, especially the past of historically Black colleges and universities. His guidance, advice, and encouragement made this study possible. For that, I am ever obliged and appreciative.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION, HISTORY OF TOUGALOO, RESEARCH METHODOLOGY, AND SOURCES

#### Introduction

In the early morning of June 12, 1963, as many students at Tougaloo College slept, Medgar Evers, the Executive Field Secretary for the Mississippi branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People [NAACP] was killed. He was slain in his driveway during the early hours of that day, only hours after President John F. Kennedy addressed the nation, calling for an end to racial injustice and inequality. In the speech, Kennedy “argued that the issue of segregation was neither sectional, partisan, nor legislative alone, but rather an issue of morality” (as cited in Williams, 2011, p. 281). Kennedy noted that such fairness was “as old as the scriptures” (as cited in Williams, 2011, p. 281). Shortly after Kennedy’s pronouncements on the racial oppression that permeated the American South, Evers lay dying in Jackson, Mississippi, as his wife, children, and neighbors attempted to save him. “The slug tore through him, then through a window and a kitchen wall, before it glanced off the refrigerator and landed on the counter” (Vollers, 1995, p. 126).

At Tougaloo, as details of Evers’ homicide spread across the campus, students were left traumatized and melancholy (J. Trumpauer, personal communication, March 15, 2012). The heartbreaking news was particularly harrowing to Anne Moody, a Tougaloo student who had been one of the Jackson

civil rights movement's "most faithful canvassers and church speakers," as well as one of Evers' mentees (Moody, 1968, p. 286).

A few hours before Evers' death, Moody, along with a few Tougaloo classmates, attended a meeting at New Jerusalem Baptist Church, where Evers addressed the gathering of Jacksonians, providing them with updates on "issues of the day" (Williams, 2011, p. 281). Evers, while looking weary, spoke to the group without his usual vivaciousness, as he discussed the ongoing t-shirt sale, as well as the more pressing issue of voter suppression, which was rampant throughout Mississippi. "Evers remained cordial at the meeting...but looked tired and quietly sad. It was obvious that he was under a great deal of pressure" (Williams, 2011, p. 282).

Later that evening, Moody, still with friends from Tougaloo, saw the initial television reports of the assassination. Of these moments, Moody writes:

We didn't believe what we were hearing. We just sat there staring at the TV screen. It was unbelievable. Just an hour or so earlier we were all with him. The next bulletin announced that he had died in the hospital soon after the shooting. We didn't know what to do or say. (Moody, 1968, p. 301)

Moody and those gathered with her were not the only ones left disconsolate and dejected. Evers had been a friend and guide to countless Tougalooans. He had often met with the college's chapter of the NAACP, and had befriended Ernst Borinski, a faculty member at Tougaloo, as well as one of his closest advisers. Reverend R. Edwin King, Jr., the college's Dean of

Students/Chaplain, worked with Evers in the efforts to desegregate several of Jackson's most prominent churches. Professor John R. Salter, Jr., a sociology instructor at Tougaloo, chaired the Jackson Movement Strategy. Through that position, he, along with Evers and the Congress of Racial Equality [CORE], organized the lunch counter sit-in at the Jackson-Downtown F. W. Woolworth.

Evers and Tougaloo were closely connected in a common purpose and friendship. This long-term association added to the melancholy of that early morning, which prophesied a soon-forthcoming time in which extraordinary leadership would be needed, especially at such a perilous point in the struggle for equality for Blacks in Mississippi. Direction would also be needed at such a moment in the history of Tougaloo.

Later that morning, there was a knock at the door of the newly built presidential home. While the group of concerned students, faculty, and staff, looking as if something had befallen them, continued knocking, Dr. Adam Daniel Beittel, the school's eighth president, roused from sleep to receive the news from the unsolicited guests. Beittel must have known, even under the effects of sleep deprivation, that the gloomiest hours of his administration were yet to come (J. Trumpauer, personal communication, March 14, 2012). Beittel's administration, which had already accumulated its share of noteworthy victories and defeats, now became more worthy of historical attention and consideration.

This dissertation is a study of Beittel and his closest supporters. Between 1960 and 1964, the span of Beittel's presidency, individual acts of courage contributed to the modern Civil Rights Movement. At each step of the way, there

was a new challenge, a new method of demonstration. And yet they all, in each type and style of protest, asked White Mississippians to reconsider what it meant to be Americans. If the Civil Rights Movement in Mississippi were compared to traditional combat and war, Tougaloo might be the army's headquarters, and Beittel one of the military's high-ranking generals. In many substantial and meaningful ways, Beittel helped to lead the movement, often by simply allowing students the time and freedom to attend organizational meetings, carry picket signs, integrate a public library, sit down at a lunch counter, attend "whites only" worship services or concerts, and often...go to jail. The happenings that occurred during Beittel's tenure at Tougaloo changed the course of the Civil Rights Movement in Mississippi.

During this time, Beittel also had a college to lead. This entailed taking the lead on institutional responsibilities: fund raising, resource allocation, the academic programming, hiring/firing, athletics, and other extracurricular activities. He was also charged with working with Tougaloo faculty, staff, students, professional and civic groups, as well as members of the local and state communities, many of whom were not behind the movement. Indeed, a good many were outspokenly against it. Additionally, he had to deal with alumni, friends, and the college's board of trustees.

### History of Tougaloo

By the time the State of Mississippi adopted its 1868 Constitution, the American Missionary Association [AMA] had already established, for the recently freed Blacks, "four primary, eight graded and two normal schools" ("Historical

Sketch of Tougaloo University,” 1909, p. 1). The state’s newly adopted constitution, which called for the establishment of public schools for Blacks, caused the AMA to turn its attention to higher education. With that, came the idea of establishing a Black college in Central Mississippi. “It would be wise to establish [in Mississippi] one strong boarding school for teacher training and industrial work” (“Historical Sketch of Tougaloo University,” 1909, p. 1).

Many of the AMA’s first “colleges,” including Tougaloo, were “primary schools and glorified high schools,” teaching material no more advanced than that provided to the children attending the recently created public schools for young Black Mississippians. Unlike the publically supported elementary and secondary schools for Blacks, the AMA intended to “grow” their schools into institutions of higher learning, hoping that they would offer curriculum that provided technical skills, enabling students the “ability to do what the world needs done,” while adding liberal arts courses in “English, Latin, Greek, history, mathematics, theology and philosophy” (Brownlee, 1946, p. 180).

Tougaloo’s sister institution, Talladega College, was the first AMA school to implement programs of study that were both technical and academic. Dr. Augustus F. Beard, who served as the AMA’s secretary for 18 years, defended the AMA’s decision to label their first schools as “colleges,” while challenging members of the Association to help the schools prosper. He explained: “I was at church yesterday. It was Children’s Day. The minister baptized twenty babies. I noticed that every one of them got an adult name. The colleges and universities



were named all right. Now you bring them up” (as cited in Brownlee, 1946, p. 178).

The decision to create an AMA school in Mississippi did not come without debate. “There was much doubt about Tougaloo because it had practically no college work and was in a Mississippi area noted for its high incidences of malaria” (Brownlee, 1946, p. 179). Once all concerns were appeased, the AMA tasked General Charles H. Howard with locating a site for the future school. Howard, a White man who fought for the Union Army at several battles of the American Civil War, including Antietam, Fredericksburg, Gettysburg, and Chattanooga, located what must have seemed an ideal property. The property, about 5,000 acres of cotton fields along with sporadic clusters of Spanish moss-covered oaks, included a spacious mansion, which was too large for George C. McKee, the military general who made the place his home in the South since the end of the Civil War. While the mansion could be beneficial to the school, the former slave quarters, which stood nearby were dilapidated beyond repair (Mays, 1899, p. 259). The spot, some seven miles from downtown Jackson, was near a railroad station, a daily stop for trains on the Illinois Central track that connected Jackson and Memphis, some 200 miles to the north. While the “Tougaloo Station” provided the first students with access to nearby cities, and while the campus provided them with a tranquil setting for study, there were problems with Howard’s selection, which included 2,000 acres of the John Boddie Plantation (Campbell & Rogers, 1979).

The location was beautiful, but the surrounding people were of the lowest and roughest order. As one who was a student in that early day expressed it, "It was like heathen Africa and the densest jungle in it." The religious services of the school were often interfered with by the sound of profane brawls in the "quarters," an eighth of a mile away. Drunkenness and fighting were all too common. ("Historical Sketch of Tougaloo University," 1909, p.1)

Campbell and Rogers (1979) write that the area was "occupied by rough and unruly blacks given to brawling" (p. 7).

Campbell and Rogers (1979) note that the AMA bought the Boddie mansion and plantation for \$10,500. "The reason that they [AMA] purchased so much land in 1869 was that they wanted to have some land to sell to freedmen in the area, so that they would be close enough to send their children here [Tougaloo]" (Owens, 1980). In describing the landscape of the Boddie farmstead, they write:

The rutted road from the station to the mansion passed through a dense forest of pines, massive hickories, and oaks festooned with Spanish moss.

The convergence of two brooks had given the name Tougaloo (pronounced Too-ga-loo), an Indian name meaning "at the fork of the stream." (Campbell & Rogers, 1979, p. 7)

The school, then identified as "Tougaloo Normal and Manual Training School," opened in 1869, with Reverend Ebenezer Tucker serving as its first principal. Tucker, a White graduate of Oberlin College, who had taught for nine

years at Liber College in Indiana, genially embraced Tougaloo and its students. His concern for the pupils' wellbeing is exemplified in a letter to a former student in which Tucker wrote, "I take pride in the welfare and success of my boys and girls. Aha! That was one my troupe, I exclaim!" (as cited in Campbell & Rogers, 1979, p. 17). After a tenure of less than 2 years, Tucker left Tougaloo for Raymond, Mississippi, where he served as principal for a Black high school of fewer than 100 students. "Why he left is not known, but Gen. C. H. Howard was evidently displeased with him" (Campbell & Rogers, 1979, p. 17). In spite of this, Tucker did not sever ties with the school, but returned every five weeks to minister to students, and to lead worship services for the students and for the neighboring communities (Campbell & Rogers, 1979, p. 17).

"The Mansion," as it came to be known, served as the school's first dormitory, housing "a dozen or more girls sleeping in each of its large upstairs rooms" ("Historical Sketch of Tougaloo University," 1909, p. 1). In 1870, Washington Hall was built, and served as a dormitory for the school's first class of young men. The same year, the Boarding House was constructed. It was a multipurpose building that housed a kitchen, laundry, sitting room, and dormitory space for 30 females (Mays, 1899, p. 259). "The buildings were erected by aid received from the Government of the United States through the educational department of the Bureau of Refugees and Freedmen at a cost of \$13,050" (Mays, 1899, p. 259). The school's entire operational cost of the year was \$25,550, a considerable sum of money at the time.

In 1871, the school became one of Mississippi's *Normal Schools*, which were designated as sites where the state's school teachers would be trained, making it eligible for a yearly \$2,500 public appropriation.

As Tougaloo adapted to its mission in teacher training, the college developed enhanced coursework that focused on a more classical curriculum, moving away from the industrial classes that were associated, often falsely, with the first Black colleges. Bullock (1967) argues that many Black schools, while offering classes in subjects like domestic science and carpentry, did so to placate those who funded the schools.

This became merely window dressing, like singing Negro spirituals when white people came to visit the schools. It was merely a way of making favorable impressions upon some visiting school officials whose influence with philanthropic agencies could stimulate more money for the school. (Bullock, 1967, p. 162)

With the new status as a normal school that received some state support, Tougaloo began operating under the control of two boards of trustees, one appointed by the state, and the other selected by the AMA. "As might be expected, it was difficult for two boards of trustees to run the same institution and in 1877 the aid of the State was withdrawn" ("Historical Sketch of Tougaloo University," 1909. p. 1). The suspension of governmental assistance followed a long-standing feud between Tougaloo's administrators, who wanted total autonomy in running the school, and Mississippi's legislators, who opposed the

allocation of state money to a college that was “under the control of northern men” (Campbell & Rogers, 1979, p. 48).

There were other perplexing impediments for the new school, too. Campbell and Rogers (1979) detail many of the college’s first challenges, including the turmoil surrounding the AMA’s selection of the school’s second top administrator [and first to be called president], Reverend J. K. Nutting, which was not without issue. Some claimed that Nutting was never appointed “as president,” though school stationery noted him as such. His uncertain appointment, as well as the conditions he faced upon his April 1873, arrival in Mississippi, foreshadowed the hardships Tougaloo and its first administrators were destined to endure throughout the upcoming years. Before being well settled in the new position, Nutting was faced with an epidemic that left the campus inundated with students who suffered from measles, pneumonia, and diphtheria. Upon the news of such ill tidings, some parents ordered their children home. Ultimately, one student died during the outbreak (Campbell & Rogers, 1979, p. 21).

Nutting was also plagued with a sluggish administrative office at the AMA’s New York headquarters, which helped pay the bills for Tougaloo. Richardson (1986) claims that the headquarters’ funds were inadequate and that the AMA blundered in creating more schools that it could monetarily support, leaving officials in New York to continual fundraising. “Frequently bills could not be paid in the South until further collections were made in the North” (Richardson, 1986, p. 136). Even the colleges with the most capable leaders, like Tougaloo, were at the mercy of the national office and its intermittent ability to

send money for school operations. “After the association expended \$25,000 more than it had collected in the summer of 1874, Secretary E. Strieby recommended that Straight and Tougaloo be placed on the “most limited basis consistent with preservation” (Richardson, 1986, p. 136).

In the fall of 1873, Tougaloo’s creditors refused to extend additional credit to the school, leaving Nutting unable to make purchases for general supplies. The New York office was also delinquent in paying the college’s faculty. “Teachers promised fifteen dollars a month were required to send a requisition to New York to collect it. If the school was out of forms, collection was delayed” (Campbell & Rogers, 1979, p. 25). These problems were aggravated by the national depression of 1873, which added to the financial difficulties at Tougaloo and the AMA. Faculty bore the repercussions of the school’s financial woes, often by working overtime and by accepting additional duties, regularly working to exhaustion. One of Nutting’s teachers, “Miss Ferguson,” labored to fatigue and near collapse. Campbell and Rogers (1979) note that she “barely escaped brain fever” (p. 26). Another of the college’s teacher, “Miss E. M. Evans,” also toiled nearly to the breaking point, but was spared when Nutting hired an assistant for her (Campbell & Rogers, 1979, p. 26)

Ferguson and Evans were not alone in doing what they could to see the school through the lean years. It was during these years of economic distress that Nutting employed the school’s first farm superintendent, S.C. Osborn, whose duties were critical during the Nutting administration, at a time when the college relied on crops from the school’s fields to feed hungry students. The era was

difficult, and would have been more dreadful, were it not for Osborn. Before Osborn's arrival at Tougaloo, "the school was entirely out of flour, sugar, and tea, and had enough meat to last only two or three days" (Campbell & Rogers, 1979, p. 24). With Osborn's knowledge and experience in farming, as well as good weather, abundant crops were harvested, providing the school with filled pantries and students with full stomachs. The overages were sold for profits that contributed to the college's general operations funds.

In spite of the sufferings, there were also times of progression and celebration, even during the early years. The 10-year presidential term of Reverend G. Stanley Pope, which began in 1877, typified this point. During his tenure, the school made substantial additions to its physical plant, including the erecting of Ayrshire Hall, a chapel, Striebery Hall (named for a senior secretary of the AMA), and a small home for the President ("Historical Sketch of Tougaloo University," 1909, p. 3). These years were also a time of increased enrollment, expanded programs, and broadened industrial work. "Sewing classes were begun in 1877. The agriculture work was specially developed. The raising and marketing of strawberries and plants was made prominent" ("Historical Sketch of Tougaloo University," 1909, p.3).

In 1879, two years after the introduction of sewing classes, the state again acquired Tougaloo as part of its system of Normal Schools. As before, the state appointed a Board of Visitors, along with the AMA's board, to manage the school. Tougaloo continued, however, to receive private donations to supplement the state's financial assistance. Some of the most sizeable gifts came from the Slater

Fund, which began its philanthropic work during those years. (“Historical Sketch of Tougaloo University,” 1909, p. 3). John F. Slater, a textile manufacturer from Rhode Island, who donated a million dollars to the cause of educating African Americans, established the Slater Fund in 1882. A board of ten trustees who were selected by Slater governed the allocation of monies. Rutherford B. Hayes, whose term as president of the United States had recently ended, was one of the first trustees, as was William E. Dodge, a founding member of the Young Men’s Christian Association (Fisher, 1986, p. 1).

By the end of his term, President Pope had accomplished much in his leadership of the school. During his tenure, programs were strengthened and facilities were improved. “Strieby Hall was a much finer building than Washington Hall had ever been. Ballard Hall, the Ballard Shops, and the barn spoke eloquently of the school’s work in training teachers, mechanics, and farmers” (Campbell & Rogers, 1979, p. 75).

An unfortunate event marked the last few years of Pope’s service. Four years before the end of his presidential service, tragedy struck Pope’s family. “Mrs. Pope died in 1883 of malarial pneumonia, leaving two small boys. She was buried under the mossy oaks in the little cemetery on campus” (Campbell & Rogers, 1979, p. 75).

The bereavement of Mrs. Pope’s death was not the first time the Tougaloo community had endured such mourning. There had been numerous deaths before, and others would follow. While the school was considered a “healthful setting,” death was always skulking about, never far removed. (Campbell &



Rogers, 1979, p. 97). Of the susceptibility for infirmity and death to strike at Tougaloo, Campbell and Rogers (1979) write:

One cannot read the fragmented accounts of life at Tougaloo without being impressed with the number of school deaths: the Nutting child, the nearly white boy who stuttered, Miss Eldrige who had selected the site for the cemetery, Mrs. Pope, the boy who drowned, a girl whose funeral sermon convinced I. S. Sanders he should transfer to Tougaloo, and others merely alluded to. (Campbell & Rogers, 1979, p. 97)

Many of the illnesses that plagued Tougalooans were directly related to mosquito-carried diseases. Tougaloo was located on land elevated above the swamps of standing water in which mosquitoes typically bred. The mosquitoes found their way to the campus grounds anyway. Regardless, college officials, faculty, and students complained of excessive heat and the aggravation of mosquito bites. For these reasons, campus residents looked forward to the advent of fall and winter, while AMA officials “anxiously watched the telegraphic reports,” hoping that updates from Tougaloo would reveal little more than benign and sporadic illnesses of the students, faculty, and staff (Campbell & Rogers, 1979, p. 99).

No trepidation of widespread outburst of disease and sickness was as severe as in the summer of 1878, with the yellow fever outbreak, which was traced as far north as Memphis. College officials quickly realized the severity of the situation, as confirmed and deadly cases of yellow fever were spreading south, affecting places like Holly Springs, Grenada, and Canton [16 miles to the

north]. President Pope and most other members of the campus community evacuated Tougaloo, leaving a small staff to care for daily operations. D.I. Miner, the college business manager, along with his family, stayed on to protect the college grounds, to take care of routine business matters, and to prepare the campus for the upcoming semester, which was set to begin within a few weeks. The AMA's general secretary, M. E. Strieby, unsuccessfully pleaded with Miner to abandon his post. When Miner refused to depart the campus, Strieby sent \$100 by registered mail to help with emergency-related costs (Campbell & Rogers, 1979, p. 99).

Miner was ultimately forced to retreat, leaving the school in October, when a case of yellow fever was discovered very near the school. Miner moved his family to a cottage in some piney woods, only six miles away. Fearing the worst, and preparing for any eventuality, provisions for the place were made well in advance, and called for adequate supplies to get the family through the season's first frost (Campbell & Rogers, 1979, p. 99). Jackson had numerous cases of yellow fever that summer. Especially hard hit were African Americans who were not financially able to leave. About 80 percent of those cases survived, and no lives were lost at Tougaloo.

During the term of the school's fourth leader [and third president], Reverend Frank G. Woodworth, nursing training was added to the school's curriculum, as a way to care for ill students, faculty, and staff. "Nursing training was begun in 1890 and has since been carried on successfully as class work in the first and second years of the Normal course, and with special students. In

1901, a small Hospital was erected, which is of great value in the care of the sick and for the nursing classes” (“Historical Sketch of Tougaloo University,” 1909, p.4).

In 1887, Woodworth was inaugurated as Tougaloo’s new president. He and his administration stressed the value of a solid liberal arts education. Under his leadership, an educational model was implemented that allowed students to spend 12 grades [totaling 12 years] in study at Tougaloo. “The first two grades are devoted to the primary course; the third, fourth, and fifth to the intermediate course; the sixth, seventh and eighth to the grammar course; the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth to the normal course” (Mays, 1899, p. 264). Alternate educational tracks were provided to those seeking industrial education. Students who excelled in the latter could earn certificates of industrial proficiency if they successfully completed three years of shop work, while taking classes at night (Mays, 1899, p. 264).

Those who selected the academic plan faced arduous studies, especially during the final four years of the program. During the 10<sup>th</sup> grade, for example, students were expected to master these subjects: “algebra, natural philosophy, bookkeeping, American literature, English literature [seven classics], civil government, and methods” (Mays, 1899, p. 265). During the final year of the program, student took theological studies as well as classes in “mental and moral sciences” (Mays, 1899, p. 265).

The flourishing music program that Mrs. Cyrus Hamlin directed best illustrates Woodworth’s support for the advancement of a more traditional course

of study. With her prodigious knowledge and Woodworth's encouragement, students not only learned to sing and play instruments beautifully, but also learned the complexities of music theory and harmony. "The advanced chorus studied great western works, such as Mendelssohn's 'Elijah,' and Handel's 'Messiah,' and Gounod's 'St. Cecilia Mass,' selected from a music library of twenty-five hundred titles" (Campbell & Rogers, 1979, p. 84). Under Woodward, Tougaloo invested in such programs, so it would produce graduates who would be associated with academic excellence. Yet, even during such a progressive time at Tougaloo, students still spent much of their time learning routine skills.

Twice a week the girls met with the nurse for a practical health talk while the boys had a talk on agriculture from the school's farmer. At 3:30, those who had not yet done their hour of daily service went to the woodyard, to the ground to dig or rake leaves, to the halls to sweep or scrub, or to the laundry, where from three to four hundred pieces were washed and ironed each week. (Campbell and Rogers, 1979, p. 85)

By 1890, many of the state's legislators were again rethinking the state's financial support of Tougaloo, arguing that Mississippi should not support a school of "denomination direction." "At first there was some state support. There was state support up to about 1890. And then, someone began to question Tougaloo's compliance with mores and they parted company" (Owens, 1980). Tougaloo, while never considered a church school, had loose ties to the Congregational Church. Therefore, in accordance with Mississippi's new constitution, funding for Tougaloo ended. Oddly, Governor Stone supported the

continuation of funding, recognizing the overall benefit of such expenditures. “I do not hesitate to express the belief that no appropriation ever made for the education of the colored race has made so many good returns, and if not prohibited by section 208 of the Constitution, I should cheerfully and earnestly recommend the usual appropriation” (“Historical Sketch of Tougaloo University,” 1909, p. 4).

While Owens claims that the parting was due to Tougaloo’s denominational support, others might argue that Mississippi’s legislators bemoaned the school’s teaching of classical courses in the liberal arts. Bullock (1967) claims that many Whites, from both the North and South, “wanted to make the Negro [sic] of service to themselves and whites... by giving him specific tasks to perform, and to saturate the entire population with useful forms of manual training” (Bullock, 1967, p. 32). Mississippi’s lawmakers may not have deemed the school’s advanced curriculum and programs of study useful to the state’s Black population.

Campbell and Rogers (1979) also detail the college’s most productive years, which came during the presidency of William Trumbull Holmes, [1913 - 1933]. While the country was facing global conflict, and the advent of the First World War, Tougaloo was enjoying prosperity and expansion. During the Holmes’ presidency, Tougaloo received financial assistance from Julius Rosenwald of the Sears, Roebuck and Company. Rosenwald, the president of Sears between 1909 and 1924, was a devotee of Booker T. Washington, as well as William H. Baldwin, who was general manager of the Southern Railway

Company, as well as chairperson of the General Education Board, a benevolent organization that funded southern schools for both Whites and Blacks. Inspired by the work of Washington and the philanthropy of Baldwin, Rosenwald, in 1913, with a gift of \$25,000, began funding the construction of small rural schools throughout the South. In keeping with Washington's wishes and plans, the first schools were erected near Washington's Tuskegee Institute, but eventually spread throughout the region (Ascoli, 2006, p. 135).

These funds were given specifically to improve southern state elementary schools for Blacks. Since it trained elementary teachers for Black schools, Tougaloo was eligible for the Rosenwald funds, and became the recipient of this and other grants that helped the school complete many of its construction projects. With the gift from Rosenwald, as well as the ongoing support from the AMA, Tougaloo, under Holmes, began a three-year campaign to expand the campus and to improve facilities. The commitment amounted to about \$140,000, which was a sizeable fortune at the time (Campbell & Rogers. 1979, p. 123).

While numerous *funds* supported Tougaloo through the years, including the Rosenwald Fund and the Slater Fund, most of the school's monies came from the AMA, which often provided dollars for the construction of new buildings that were always in demand. The Association also frequently supported general campus improvements. During Holmes' administration, Tougaloo, with the AMA's help, constructed cement sidewalks, graveled road, and improved the school's power and waters plants (Campbell & Rogers, 1979, p. 123).

It was also during Holmes' term that Tougaloo University was renamed "Tougaloo College." The change occurred in 1916, as the college sought to "be a good liberal arts college rather than a university" ("Name Changed," 1963, p. 1). The new name implied "more limited goals" at a time when the school was seeking accreditation by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. Earning that endorsement was a struggle for Tougaloo, especially in light of the school's never-ending financial challenges. "Its library, the academic degrees of its teachers, and its endowments fell short of the standards set by the Association. All these matters required money" (Campbell & Rogers, 1979, p. 135).

Jonathan Brooks, who was first acquainted with Tougaloo as a young man, aided Holmes during these years. Brooks came to Tougaloo seeking a college education, realizing the value of being well educated. After earning his bachelor's degree in 1930, he stayed on, serving as assistant to President Holmes. Brooks, who was an ordained Baptist minister from Kosciusko, a small community in central Mississippi, devoted himself to the college, as well as the ministry of the students. Brooks, in spite of his failing health from tuberculosis, helped students form the Scribia Club, as an avenue for students who had been "rejected for publication" to share their talents. "At the fortnightly meetings students read and discussed their own short stories, verses, or articles" (Campbell & Rogers, 1979, p. 133).

Holmes' retirement in 1933 came in the midst of the Great Depression. The school, like the rest of the nation, was finding creative ways to survive the

financial adversity. To help elevate a burdening payroll, Tougaloo began a partnership with Straight University at New Orleans. Under the terms of the agreement, Charles B. Austin, Straight's president, would preside over the administration of both schools, saving both institutions critical dollars. "The two hundred miles between New Orleans and Tougaloo were spanned by the Illinois Central, which Austin could board at eleven o'clock at night and arrive for an early breakfast the following morning at the other point" (Campbell & Rogers, 1979, p. 153). Like the nation, Tougaloo survived the depression, as well as World War II. During the post war days, the school thrived as homecoming soldiers enrolled to complete degrees, which military deployments had forced them to forgo several years earlier. Once again, male students were taking courses, partaking in campus activities, and participating in the college's sports program. Their homecoming was exemplified by the return of the school's football program, which had been suspended in 1942. "In the fall of 1946 men restored the numerical balance on campus" (Campbell & Rogers, 1979, p. 163).

Two years after World War II, Tougaloo inaugurated a new president. Harold C. Warren, a Presbyterian minister and a graduate of Princeton University, as well as the University of Pittsburgh. He is remembered for leading the college at a time that Tougaloo lost its accreditation from the Southern Association of College and Secondary Schools, which occurred in 1952. According to the regional accreditation agency, Tougaloo suffered from under paid and under qualified faculty, as well as an insufficient library (Campbell & Rogers, 1979, p. 179).



Under Warren's leadership, both deficiencies were promptly corrected. Warren attained the funding necessary, primarily through grants from the Carnegie Foundation, to hire better-trained faculty, and to help the school's teachers receive advanced degrees. "President Warren's feverish and unrelenting efforts rounded up a faculty in which over half held doctorates, though several were from Millsaps College and served on a part-time basis. Thereafter no teacher held less than a master's degree or its equivalent" (Campbell & Rogers, 1979, p. 178).

During his term, the Eva Hills Eastman Library began operations. The new library also served as a bookstore selling paperback books, which were very popular at the time. Zenobia Coleman, who was a young librarian during Warren's term, is credited for many of the improvements to the library. She was highly praised for adeptly organizing the library's collection, creating a student-friendly environment, and for hosting library teas, at which she introduced new books and gave book reviews.

With the improvements to library, as well as the betterment of faculty salaries and credentials, Tougaloo regained its accreditation in 1953. "It [Tougaloo] was the only Negro [sic] college in Mississippi to hold membership with the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools" (Campbell & Rogers, 1979, p. 181).

In 1954, Tougaloo's standing with the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools was strengthened with Tougaloo's merger with Southern Christian Institute, a school that was besieged with its own accreditation problems. The

school, a junior college that was sponsored by the Disciples of Christ, was located near Edwards, Mississippi, 45 miles from the Tougaloo campus. The two schools seemed compatible, especially since both campus communities had fought similar battles against social injustices, endured comparable medical emergencies, and overcome equivalent financial hardships. “When Southern Christian College Institute was merged with Tougaloo College, the college merged the two names and became Tougaloo Southern Christian College” (“Name Changed,” 1963, p.1). The union of the schools was completed the same year of the Brown v. Board of Education decision. Of the merger, Campbell and Rogers write: “But the Institute had other resources attractive to Tougaloo – namely endowments – and Tougaloo’s religious orientation found favor with Southern Christian Institute. It was agreed that one of the first items of study would be that of implementing a strong department of religion” (Campbell & Rogers, 1979, p. 182).

In 1955, Dr. Samuel C. Kincheloe was elected the school’s next president. Kincheloe was a member of the faculty at Chicago Theological Seminary before coming to Tougaloo. He earned his Master of Arts, as well as his Doctor of Philosophy degree, from the University of Chicago. Kincheloe organized integrated meetings on the campus with students and faculty from Millsaps College and even hosted a group of White students from Connecticut’s Pomfret Preparatory School who were preparing for a seminar-trip to Africa. As groundwork for the upcoming excursion, it was recommended by the trip’s financial sponsor, that the participants first “learn something about Negroes [sic]

in the United States” (Campbell and Rogers, 1979, p. 174). Tougaloo was considered a superb place for such elucidation, and Kincheloe agreed to host the group.

Informal conversations between students of the two schools and recreational activities, including ball games and dancing, rounded out the ten-day experience. At the conclusion of their African seminar, Pomfret students reported to Kincheloe that they considered their experiences in Mississippi the most outstanding part of their entire trip. (Campbell and Rogers, 1979, p. 174)

Kincheloe’s term ended in 1960, when Dr. Adam Daniel Beittel [the subject of the following chapters] replaced him.

Tougaloo, like its sister AMA schools, as well as most of the early Black colleges and universities, began as little more than a primary and secondary school, offering industrial education courses and classes in basic writing and math. Officials with the AMA, the Freedman’s Bureau, and the northern Whites who contributed to the operational costs of these schools, sought to create a Black population able to provide itself with decent jobs of manual labor. Bullock (1967) notes that “curricula were sprinkled with non-literary subjects, Needlework for the girls and woodwork for the boys were the most popular courses for the manual arts” (p. 39).

Over time, the supply of northern teachers willing to teach at Black schools in the Deep South began to dwindle, causing a need for Black normal schools, which would train Black teachers for Black students and Black schools.

Tougaloo, following this pattern, became a normal school, establishing the college as an actual institution of higher learning. On May 13, 1871, Tougaloo *University* was incorporated with a charter that stipulated, “such honors and degrees as are usual from colleges and universities may be conferred” (Mays, 1899, p. 260). The normal school was created later that year. The first graduating class of the normal school occurred in 1879, eight years after academic courses began, and included a White student, Luella Miner, the daughter of a college employee (Campbell & Rogers, 1979, p. 14).

According to Bullock (1967) Tougaloo, like other Black colleges of the day, provided a place “where Negros [sic] could learn the simplest elements of teaching arts.” With the progression of time and the development of Black communities, so, too, developed the need for “Negro [sic] preachers, doctors, lawyers, and others of a professional class” (Bullock, 1967, p. 31). While Tougaloo never introduced graduate-level medical and law courses, it did, over the period of numerous years, and through the various college presidential terms, train students in “pre-professional” courses, which allowed its graduates to be admitted to law and medical schools throughout the country. Several of the school’s presidents, including Beittel, encouraged exchange programs with Northern colleges and universities that excelled in professional programs in law and medicine.

Tougaloo implemented Bible courses during President Pope’s term, though the *biblical department*, as it was called, never advanced its theological courses, and the college never conferred divinity degrees. Campbell and Rogers

(1979), note, "President Pole planned only for a biblical department and not a theological department to train men to preach. According to the two college historians, Pope believed that the college's graduates, with a "knowledge of industrial arts, would be fitted for a practical evangelism" (p. 71).

Throughout the school's history, Tougaloo has attracted a diverse faculty who came to the college for a multitude of reasons. In the beginnings, members of the faculty, who were mostly White, came from the North, viewing their teaching as much about missionary work as education. In the following years, as more and more Blacks were completing graduate degrees and meeting the credentials for teaching in higher education, more Blacks were recruited to join Tougaloo's faculty. "As Negroes [sic] were getting better education and were capable of assuming places as leaders and teachers, the faculty of Tougaloo has been an integrated faculty for many years" (Beittel, 1965).

Many African Americans who were a fundamental part of Tougaloo's past as students wanted to give back to the traditionally Black college, knowing how much the school contributed to their betterment and to the advancement of their race. Later, some came to participate in the cause of racial equality and justice. Others were seeking employment, primarily as members of the school's faculty, hoping to earn decent wages while improving the conditions of their lives.

In 1946, the writing staff of the school's student newspaper, the *Tougazette*, felt the transformational quality of the education they had received, and understood the ways in which their lives had been enhanced. In their

“Terminus” editorial in the *Senior Edition* of that year, in referencing the words of the school’s Alma Mater, they wrote:

These words mean more to us today than ever before, for after four years of study, with interludes or parties, picnics, programs, disappointments, happiness, smiles, and tears, we are finally on the threshold of graduation. Only four years have elapsed since we entered here green, unsophisticated freshmen, and yet – a great transformation has taken place, leaving in the place of green freshmen, dignified ‘grown-up’ seniors on the eve of youth’s last stand.’ (“Terminus,” 1946, p.1).

Tougaloo’s class of 1946 believed that they “would occupy a unique place in the history of Tougaloo,” as they were the first entering freshman class following World War II, the first senior class at Tougaloo since the war’s end, and the largest graduating class in the school’s history (“Class of 1946,” 1946). That year the school conferred degrees upon 43 graduates [4 men and 39 women] (Campbell & Rogers, 1979, addendum).

One member of this historic class, Armatha A. Thompson, a native of Mound Bayou, Mississippi, a biology and chemistry major, member of the college choir, dramatic club, and Student Council representative for her entire four years at Tougaloo, later graduated from Yale University with a Master of Nursing degree. Before doing so, she, as a tribute to her classmates, composed the “Class Song” [Yale University Manuscripts & Archives]. For two of the song’s three verses, she wrote:

Tougaloo, Alma Mater, we hail thy name,

Our praise to thee we bring,  
 Eagle Queen, we love thee  
 True we all may roam  
 Far, far from home, and thee.

Gone from thy beauty so dear to our hearts,  
 Giant oaks with stately air,  
 Guide our footsteps we pray  
 Along life's rugged way,  
 Dear Tougaloo,  
 We bid you, adieu. ("Class Song," 1946, p. 1)

Three members of the Class of 1946, Thelma Louyse Caldwell, Fredia Mae Howard, and Howard Blanchard Moman, attended classes at Tougaloo for their entire school careers, having completed the school's elementary and high school divisions before entering the "college." Henryne M. Topps, editor of the *Tougazette*, who noted in the paper's final edition of the academic year, that the three had been "thoroughly Toogaloo-ize," congratulated them ("Class of 1946," 1946. p. 1).

Like Caldwell, Howard, and Moman, others, too, entered Tougaloo as mere youngsters, even more youthful than that of the typical college student, seeking a better future for themselves, as well as their race. William A. Bender was admitted to Tougaloo as a high school student at 15 years of age. He

finished his studies there 13 years later, after completing his undergraduate degree ("Class of 1946," 1946, p. 1).

After his graduation in 1914, Bender pastored a Congregational Church in Jackson, while also, as a campus chaplain, ministered to students at Utica Normal Industrial School. He later served congregations in Abbeville, Louisiana, and Corpus Christie, Texas. After completing a seven-year tenure in Texas, Bender, always fondly reminiscing on his high school and college years at Tougaloo, returned to the College, accepting the position of chaplain (Dittmer, 1994. p. 2).

During the first years of his return to Tougaloo, Bender joined the Jackson branch of the NAACP, hoping to energize the stagnant chapter, whose members had become so apathetic that voter registration, an issue historically imperative to the NAACP, had become inconsequential to the branch's membership. As a leader of the Jackson chapter, Bender established an excellent rapport with the NAACP's national officers, while earning the admiration of Thurgood Marshall, NAACP lawyer and future Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court. Marshall recommended Bender for various leadership roles within the NAACP, and nominated Bender to serve as President for the Mississippi Conference of Branches, a position that he held from 1946 to 1953. (Dittmer, 1994, p. 31) During his term, the organization "enrolled the fifty members needed for a state charter" (Campbell & Rogers, 1979, p. 186).

Bender, often through his position at Tougaloo, challenged and inspired others to join the Civil Rights Movement. "Bender was responsible for changing



the involvement of the college concerning the civil rights of black people” (C. Hunter, personal communication, October 31, 2012). In July, 1946, Bender, along with two Tougaloo students, Napoleon and Earl Lewis, attempted to vote in Ridgeland, a community just north of Jackson, where the three were turned away and threatened “with bodily harm” by the Madison County sheriff, who “threatened to shoot if any of the three crossed a designated line” (Campbell & Rogers, 1979, p. 186). A White man in the crowd chided Bender, telling him that “This is a Democratic primary, this is a white man’s primary, and niggers [sic] haven’t any business voting in a Democratic primary” (Dittmer, 1994, p. 3). Though the three men wanted to vote against Senator Theodore Bilbo, they temporarily retreated. Just the month before, Bilbo, a self-declared member of the Ku Klux Klan and an outspoken opponent of equal rights, called upon White Mississippians to “use any means to keep the nigger away from the polls” (Newton, 2010, p. 104). Bilbo, now running for a third term in the U. S. Senate, was frequently called *The Man* and was an advocate for the poorest White Mississippian, though he despised the state’s African Americans, believing that they should be deported to Africa. (Dittmer, 1994, p. 3) Bilbo frequently incited radical segregationists to violence by suggesting, often with elusive explanations, that they intimidate Blacks by vehement means. “You and I know what’s the best way to keep the nigger [sic] from voting. You do it the night before the election. I don’t have to tell you any more than that” (as cited in Dittmer, 1994, p. 2).

Napoleon Lewis, Bender, and other Tougaloo alumni were among those who testified against the seating of Sen. Theodore Bilbo in 1946. They

and other witnesses established that Bilbo had won the election by fraud, intimidation, and violence. The Senate tabled the question of seating Bilbo when it learned that he was dying of cancer. His death followed several months later. (Campbell & Rogers, 1979, p. 186).

The above-mentioned people of Tougaloo's past are but a few examples of the varied reasons that students, faculty, and staff have journeyed to *the oasis*, as Tougaloo is often called. Diversity has always been a part of Tougaloo's history, as its founders sought to create a haven for people of different races to study together, while learning about each other's cultures and traditions. "The ideal of the college from the very beginning was that it should be an integrated institution" (Beittel, 1965).

Since the beginning of the school's founding in 1869, the institution and its various leaders have struggled to keep the school financial sound, often facing desperate times and bleak conditions. Many of those leaders arrived with few funds and left with less. In 1869, H. S. Beals, sent by the AMA to begin the transformation of making the plantation into a viable campus, arrived at Tougaloo with "nothing in his pocket" yet needing funds to convert the Boddie Mansion into dormitories for the school's first student. A check from the AMA finally arrived. Other leaders have faced similar situations (Campbell & Rogers, 1979, p. 11)

In 1931, as Tougaloo was seeking its first recognition as a "fully accredited" college, school officials knew that there was much to be done. President Holmes recognized the insufficiencies of the school, particularly the college's library, which held too few volumes to appease the inspector for the

Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary School. Thanks to three separate grants from the Rosenwald Fund, as well as assistance from the AMA and the General Education Board, books were purchased, shelves were stocked, and Tougaloo received a B-rating (Campbell & Rogers, 1979, p. 135).

Financial difficulties continued throughout the years. When Beittel became the college's president in 1960, the school was operating with a 34 million dollar debt, which Beittel was able to erase during his term at Tougaloo.

### Research Methodology

This study uses historical methods of research. The researcher recognizes the need for historical knowledge when a gap in scholarly literature exists. This study, therefore, will examine a neglected area of study, as identified in the review of literature. Because of this study, new historical information about Beittel and his contemporaries at Tougaloo is available to scholars, as well as the public.

The researcher gathered relevant information, organized evidence, analyzed that data, and narrated a conclusion, when necessary. The researcher also attempted to relate historical events to the causes of such events, noting the political, social, cultural, and intellectual importance. In this study, evidence is used in a systematic and knowledgeable way.

Two techniques that have been demonstrated to be valuable in historical research are external criticism and internal criticism. Both are used throughout this study when examining primary sources. External criticism is used to determine the authenticity of a source. Since most of the study's primary sources

have been carefully maintained and authenticated by the archives that collected and hold the documents, the threat is minimized. The various archives at Tougaloo, The University of Southern Mississippi, The Amistad Research Center at Tulane University, and Millsaps College employ archivists to determine the authenticity of the collections. Other sources, like personal letters, journals, and diaries, have been securely held in the safekeeping of the original author. These authors, who are still living, and are of sound minds, have verified the authenticity of these sources. As these documents have been kept safe over the many years, there have been few opportunities for tampering of the documents. Regardless, it is still vital for the researcher to be careful in studying the documents in question, as mistakes and forgeries may be found. The knowledgeable researcher is in the best position to detect any threats to external validity.

Internal criticism, which establishes the value and worth of the evidence, will also be used in the study. Sources have been compared to other sources of the same time and subject, so that the researcher may seek similarities and differences. In doing that, the researcher has determined the document's historical value, as well as identifying the way in which that document portrays a truthful accounting of a specific person or event. Ary, Jacobs, Razavieh, and Sorensen (2009), in *Introduction to Research in Education*, explain the significance of internal criticism. They write: "After the authenticity of a piece of evidence has been established, the historical investigator proceeds to internal criticism, which requires evaluating the worth or the evidence, for instance,

whether a document provides a true report of an event” (Ary, Jacobs, Razavieh, & Sorensen, 2009, p. 468).

This study represents a type of social history, which focuses on school and community, attempting to understand the impact of one time, place, period in history, or event to the larger community or world. This type of history also looks for general patterns of development, so that future and reasonable assessments of human behavior can be concluded.

David E. Kyvig and Myron A. Marty (2000) explain this type of historical research in *Nearby History*, noting that this type of study is often “history from the bottom up” (Kyvig & Marty, 2000, p. 220). They claim that the experiences of “ordinary people” are valuable to the understanding of a large collective group of people. This, they state, is part of the “New Social History.” Of this type of historical research, Kyvig and Marty write: “The individual experiences of ordinary people were most accessible through the study of their immediate social institutions, families, and communities; these in turn could serve as case studies for understanding national patterns” (Kyvig & Marty, 2000, p. 220).

In the case of this specific study, as Tougaloo College is examined, what implications does the history of leadership at this school have on the larger world of African American education, or higher education in general? When examining specific events of the Civil Rights Movement in Mississippi, what information might be gleaned to affect a larger society during social unrest? Are there, for example, lessons that can be learned from the ways in which Mississippians dealt with the social unrest of the Civil Rights Movement?

This study is what Kyvig and Marty call “nearby history” (Kyvig & Marty, 2000, p. 220), or what Butchart calls “local or community history” (Butchart, 1986, p.4). Regardless of the term, this type of research examines a town or community or, as in the case of this dissertation, examines an institution in the local community. While Tougaloo has had an impact on the higher education of Blacks, much of this study will detail the school’s impact on the Civil Rights Movement “at home” in Mississippi and the challenges that Beittel faced while running Tougaloo, especially during a time of social and racial unrest within the local community.

This dissertation is an extension of the rather recent entry of minorities and women into history. That advent, according to Anthony Brundage (2002), historian and author of *Going to the Sources: A Guide to Historical Research*, begins with W. E. B. DuBois’ founding of the *Journal of Negro History*, which Brundage claims brought increased attention to the plight of African Americans, while rescuing “their history from the patronizing or frankly racist attitudes of most white historians of that period” (Brundage, 2002, p. 6). The African American struggle for civil rights and equality is undoubtedly tied to the increased interest in Black history.

This study focuses on events that took place during the twentieth century, with specific attention given to the 1950s and 60s. This century saw changes to the ways in which historical events and people were examined, analyzed, and recorded. Howell and Prevenier (2001), in *From Reliable Sources: An Introduction to Historical Methods*, note the century’s emphasis on culture,

especially with its anthropological and social impact. Consequently, they claim cultural and sociological studies have become more and more relevant, noting that culture is the “system of meaning through which people experience the world” (Howell & Prevenier, 2001, p. 117). They also note that today’s historians, because of earlier precedents, typically examine a more broad range of topics and a wider diversity of topics.

This expansion of historical topics, according to Howell and Prevenier, may be related to the “political and social upheavals of the twentieth century” (Howell & Prevenier, 2001, p. 144). Additionally, they claim that momentous events, like the coming of World Wars I and II, as well as the Holocaust, ushered in a time of cynicism about the lack of civility that one group often demonstrates to another. This, too, may have led to an increase in interest in groups that have historically been overlooked, including African Americans. This study places significant emphasis on African Americans, as they were spirited and critical participants in the overall history of Tougaloo, as well as the history of the Beittel administration.

The researcher conducted interviews of past faculty members from Tougaloo, including John Garner on February 16, 2012, and R. Edwin King, Jr. on March 5 and 6, 2012, as well as three extensive interviews with former Tougaloo student Joan Trumpauer on March 13 and 14, 2012, and May 10, 2013. Tougaloo Archivist and Curator of the Medgar Evers Home, Minnie Watson, was interviewed on December 16 & 17, 2012. Additionally, Clarence Hunter, Senior Archivist at Tougaloo College and Historian/Archivist at the

Mississippi Department of Archives and History, was interviewed on October 31, 2012. These five were participants and eyewitnesses to the Beittel Administration, the events of the Civil Rights Movement that related to Tougaloo College, and were most useful and representative to the study.

Kyvig and Marty (2000) provide “guidelines for interviews,” which will be meticulously followed for the interviews that will be conducted and recorded for this study. They suggest, for example, that the interviewer should avoid asking questions that might have simple “yes or no” answers, or asking more than one question at a time, and should keep “questions brief and to the point” (Kyvig & Marty, 2000, p. 109). They also advise that the interviewer not be bothered by moments of silence, as this time should allow the interviewee to gather his/her thought, and to begin the interview with “noncontroversial matters” (Kyvig & Marty, 2000, p. 109), being sure to save more provocative questions, waiting until a point at which a level of trust has been established.

Before for each interview, the researcher prepared for the interview, by reviewing the literature relating to that person. The interviewee was asked beforehand what literature might be suggested for that review. Once that review was completed, questions were drafted. The questions were submitted to the interviewee in advance, so that he/she could prepare to answer each question. The interviews were recorded, with copies provided to the interviewee. The interviewee was also provided a copy of the relevant section[s] on this study, before publication, so he/she could comment on the researcher’s findings.



This research, which was approved by The University of Southern Mississippi Institutional Review Board, had few physical, psychological, and financial risks to participants. In accordance with the Review Board's policies and procedures, all participants in this research voluntarily contributed, without any compensation, and with the full knowledge that they could withdraw from participation at any time, and with the understanding that any withdrawal would be free of penalty and repercussion.

The researcher, in accordance with standard practices of academic research, made all reasonable attempts to ensure the confidentiality of participants, especially when those interviewees requested such anonymity. Papers and documents remained secured and protected throughout the term of the project.

This study intends to be free of historical speculation, except when there is sufficient evidence to support such claims by the researcher. This study avoids texts of historical fiction. In spite of the potential for contributing meaning to this study, these sources have not been used. Williams notes that, without extensive footnoting, inclusion of historical fiction provides information that is typically "not an accurate historical account" (Williams, 2003, p. 132).

Additionally, there are several conspiracy theories relating to the *firing* of Beittel. These conspiracies are explored in depth in Chapter IX to determine the reasons and circumstances surrounding the dismissal of Beittel. Williams, in explaining why conspiracy theories are not worth of academic review, writes, "Conspiracy theories are often faulty explanation, usually based on highly

selective and sometimes discredited evidence” (Williams, 2003, p. 138). This study, however, will, in the context of the Civil Rights Movement, center on Tougaloo during Beittel’s presidency and will attempt to ascertain the truthfulness of the conspiracies theories and to establish the plausibility of the conspiracies based on the historical record.

#### Interviews, Library, and Archival Sources

As noted above, this study relied in part on five interviews that the researcher conducted with John Garner, Edward King, and Joan Trumpauer. The interview with Garner took place at Garner’s home in Jackson, Mississippi, on February 16, 2012. The interviews with King occurred at various places around the Jackson area, including Tougaloo College, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, and near the former site of the Downtown Woolworth’s Store. These interviews occurred on March 5 and 6, 2012. Joan Trumpauer was interviewed at her home in Arlington, Virginia, on March 13 and 14, 2012, though one session occurred at Busboys and Poets Café, which is also located in the Shirlington area of Arlington, not far from Trumpauer’s residence. She was interviewed a third time on May 10, 2013, also at her home. Minnie Watson was interviewed on the Tougaloo campus on December 16 and 17, 2012. Clarence Hunter was interviewed on October 31, 2012, at the Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

Much of the research for this dissertation is derived from the oral histories of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, as well as smaller collections of oral histories maintained by The University of Southern Mississippi,

Millsaps College, Jackson State University, and Tulane University. An oral history of Adam Daniel Beittel, which is maintained by The Amistad Research Center at Tulane University, will be an important source of information, as will their collection of Beittel Letters and Correspondences. The Amistad Research Center, which houses “the largest collection of original source material on American ethnic history, the civil rights movement, and race relations” (“Amistad Research Center: Where History Lives”). The Center is also “the nation’s oldest, largest and most prestigious independent archives of documents, original manuscripts and primary sources chronicling the history of African Americans and other ethnic minorities” (“Amistad Research Center: Where History Lives”). A listing of these archives and special collections can be found in two places: The Reference List and Appendix B.

The only other known recording of Beittel is maintained by the Millsaps College Archives. While a majority of their historical collection, both print and recorded, relates to the school’s Methodist heritage and tradition, they also house documents regarding the college’s participation in the Civil Rights Movement, as well as documents concerning the school’s close relationship with Tougaloo. Many of the oral histories on these subjects are part of the “Contemporary Mississippi Life and Viewpoints – 1965” collection. This oral history project was funded by the Field Foundation, and was conducted by Dr. Gordon C. Henderson, who chaired the Political Science Department at Millsaps in the mid-1960s. “Dr. Henderson conducted thirty-nine interviews, oversaw the transcriptions of some of the tapes into rough drafts, edited most of these into

first drafts, and sent out many of them to the interviewees for approval or further revision as necessary.” The rest of the college’s extensive collection primarily concerns the school’s tie to Methodism in Mississippi. “The Millsaps College Archives preserves the administrative records of the College and collects faculty, student and college publications and private papers” (J.B. Cain Archives of Mississippi Methodism and Millsaps College Archives).

The Tougaloo College Archives and its “Office of Presidential Records” maintains an extensive collection of Beittel’s original letters, handwritten notes, minutes from meetings of Tougaloo’s Board of Trustees, as well as papers relating to the routine operations of Tougaloo during Beittel’s tenure.

The audiotape collection of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History has been many years in the making. The recordings date to 1963 and were updated in 2007. The collection contains over one hundred oral histories and sound recordings, many of which directly relate to Tougaloo College. Most of the sound recordings have also been transcribed. The researcher reviewed the recordings and transcripts of interviews with R. Edwin King, Jr., John R. Salter, Clarice T. Campbell, Ernst Borinski, Anne Moody, and George A. Owens.

The Adam Daniel Beittel Papers of the Mississippi Digital Library was also a helpful source. Its thirty-nine documents, including numerous photographs, will be examined. The collection includes letters between Beittel and local ministers, governmental officials, administrative colleagues, friends and family. Beittel’s letters, in particular, will be helpful in telling this story.

The Mississippi Department of Archives and History houses the extensive “Tougaloo College,” collection, which includes the John and Margrit Garner Letters, the Virgia Brocks-Shedd Papers, the Edwin King Papers, the Tougaloo Nine Collection, as well as the Kudzu Collection. These collections hold valuable information, which provided evidence and descriptions of Beittel’s associations with friends and foes alike.

Special attention was given to the Ernst Borinski Collection, also stored at the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, as Borinski was such a pivotal participant in Civil Rights Movement, as well as one of Beittel’s allies and most respected Tougaloo faculty members. Additional source information regarding Borinski came from the Borinski letters at Millsaps College. As noted above, a listing of these archives and special collections can be found in the Reference List and in Appendix B.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

To comprehend Tougaloo's past, as well as that of the Beittel administration, one must have an understanding of the African American condition in the post-Civil War South, the treatment of Blacks under *Jim Crow* regulations, an awareness of the Civil Rights Movement in Mississippi, and a sense of the growth of higher education for African Americans between 1865-1964.

When the United States Civil War ended with *the surrender* at Appomattox Court House, an event that exemplified the inconceivable possibilities of a great arising for Blacks in the South, African Americans must have seen educational opportunity as a surreal fantasy. For such a long time, educational opportunities had been well beyond their grasps. Most slave and property owners made sure of this. Yet, in spite of these subjugations, a profound desire for that learning persevered. A yearning for education and literacy was, in their minds, at least, inextricably linked to the struggle for emancipation. Blacks, both free and enslaved, understood that education was the key to success and prosperity. It was also, many believed, their keys to self-sufficiency, self-determination, and autonomy in a world that most former slaves could barely comprehend or realize. Education became a prerequisite for a fruitful harvest of a new awaking of potential and growth. James T. Patterson (2001) detailed the passion with which Blacks sought an education. He writes, "Most [Blacks], of course, had long

yearned for far better schools. They shared the White American romance with education as the source of advancement of life” (Patterson, 2001, p. xxiv).

James D Anderson (1988) begins with the former slaves’ efforts to acquire their own education. The newly freed slaves, he argues, understood the meaning of education to their impending futures and achievements. They particularly grasped the significance of literacy to improve their condition, especially as they had been deprived of formal education for such a long time.

Anderson claims that former slaves possessed a strong desire to learn. While they were assisted by northern missionary societies, as well as church-related agencies, Anderson notes that the credit for getting Black children into the classrooms deservedly belongs to the former slaves themselves. “They accepted support from northern missionary societies, the Freedmen’s Bureau, and some southern Whites, but their own action—class self-activity informed by an ethic of mutuality—was the primary force that brought schools to the children of freed men and women” (Anderson, 1988, p. 5).

Ronald E. Butchart (2010) also observes this self-reliance and deep yearning for education. Butchart details the origins of Black schools, noting the resistance that came from many southern Whites. Before emancipation, most slaves were banned from learning to read and write. Slave owners understood that literacy empowered slaves in a way that would be threatening to the idea and practice of keeping people in bondage. Yet, slaves sought knowledge so that they could possibly improve their lot. Of the White resistance, Butchart writes:

Many of the slave states made it a crime to teach slaves to read and write.

Where black literacy was not banned by law, it was effectively banned by custom. Many slaveholders metered out fearsome punishment to slaves who were caught with reading or writing material. (Butchart, 2010, p. 2)

After emancipation, Blacks wished to participate fully in what they described as the “Lincoln Government” (Butchart, 2010, p. 11). More than anything else, slaves and former slaves hankered to read their Bibles. Butchart reports of a school that was created in Yorktown, Virginia, offering both day and night classes to former slaves. “The night school comprised of mostly grown people, who after toiling all day, come eager to learn and read, some quite old men and women, who, as one said to me the other night—‘jes wants to larn a little Missus soes I ken read my Bible’” (Butchart, 2010, p.10). As Bible reading was a primary goal of the desire for literacy, many northern White teachers viewed themselves as missionaries, as well as teachers. The two roles, many believed, went hand in hand. “To be able to read the Bible for oneself was to declare one’s emancipation from White churches and from decades—centuries—of being told by White preachers what to believe” (Butchart, 2010, p.10).

Butchart also notes the more practical reasons that Blacks coveted education, including the necessity of protecting themselves against fraud, especially with the newly won possibility of purchasing property and entering into complex labor contracts. Such promises, once unimaginable, were now within reach, as former slaves entered the new dawn of freedom. They also understood that emancipation could not be fully enjoyed or realized without literacy.



The combination of these various reasons, as well as others, led to the advent of “native schools.” Anderson (1988) reports that the first prominent native school, The Pioneer School of Freedom, began operations in 1860 in New Orleans. Mary Peake, a foremost Black teacher, opened a native school at Fortress Monroe, Virginia, a year later. Armstrong and Ludlow (1969), in *Hampton and its Students*, note that Peake, even before the Civil War, had been tutoring slaves in her local community. In doing so, she was violating the law, as well as breaking entrenched customs. After all, during the late 1830s and early 1840s, Virginia, like most southern states passed “anti-literacy” legislation, which prohibited teaching slaves to read. Oddly, Virginia law was less restrictive than some, giving some exceptions to the rule. Christina Pawley (2010), the Director of the Center for the History of Print Culture in Modern America, and author of *Reading Places: Literacy, Democracy, and the Public Library in Cold War America*, writes: “By 1850 the legal codes of North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Virginia prohibited teaching slaves to read and write, although Virginia’s law did not prohibit owners from teaching their slaves” (Pawley, 2010, p. 49). Once freedom came, with the elimination of such legal barriers, Peake’s school was organized and 20 schoolchildren were admitted to her first class.

Pupils were eager to learn, and the reports so positive, that the AMA sent a second wave of teachers [many of whom were Black] to the Commonwealth. The history of the association is detailed in Dwight Oliver Wendell Holmes’ (1934) book, *The Evolution of the Negro College*. Holmes, a distinguished historian, educator, and administrator, was the first Black president of Morgan

State University, an alumnus from Johns Hopkins University and Columbia University. He was also a former member of the faculty and registrar at Howard University.

Peake's school, and its sister AMA schools throughout Virginia, were seen as essential parts of the development of Black schools in the southern states. The AMA, through its first schools, provided Blacks with training that could deliver them jobs as skilled laborers (Armstrong & Ludlow, 1969, p. 16).

Peake's death, which occurred in April 1862, is often attributed to exhaustion, resulting from her tireless efforts to teach and uplift the masses of freed people. The fatigue that led to Peake's death, demonstrated the unselfish dedication of Peake and those like her who devoted themselves to the cause of educating Blacks in the South. (Armstrong & Ludlow, 1969, p. 17).

Peake's accomplishments, as well as those of her associates, were followed by additional triumphs. Many Blacks continued to seek better living through education. "In 1865, slaves and free persons of color had already begun to make plans for the systematic instruction of their illiterates. Early Black schools were established and supported largely through the Afro-Americans' [sic] own efforts" (Anderson, 1988, p. 7). By 1866, there were over 500 native schools that were holistically managed by Blacks, who taught courses, as well as administered academic programs.

The success of these schools conflicted with the preconceived notion that Blacks were helpless in their abilities to school themselves. Even a minority within the northern missionary societies believed that Blacks were too

unrestrained and savage to self-pursue academic independence (Anderson, 1988, p. 9).

Unfolding, however, was more and more proof that Blacks could see to their own schooling. Furthermore, there were several models to follow. Anderson broadly examines the first models of historically Black colleges. Many of these earliest schools, like Tuskegee, remain operational and highly germane to today's world of higher education.

The Tuskegee model was a result of the Hampton archetypal, which originated in 1868 in Hampton, Virginia. Samuel Chapman Armstrong created that prototype. The better-known Booker T. Washington, the founder of Tuskegee, was one of Armstrong's students.

With the establishment of Hampton Institute, Armstrong became one of the most powerful and persuasive champions of African American education. Yet, Robert F. Engs (1999), in *Educating the Disfranchised and Disinherited: Samuel Chapman Armstrong and Hampton Institute, 1839-1893*, provides the only comprehensive history of Armstrong's life. Engs details Armstrong's childhood as the son of a missionary in Hawaii, and describes those who were most influential in his life, including his father, and the Black men he would later command during the U. S. Civil War.

Engs reports that Armstrong followed his father's example by serving those in need. Armstrong was born on the Hawaiian island of Wailuku in January of 1839, and was the fifth child born to Richard Armstrong and his wife, Clarissa Chapman Armstrong. Well before Armstrong's birth, Richard was working in the

mission field, after having been assigned to Hawaii by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Richard was relentless in his service to the Hawaiians, even learning the native language so that he could deliver sermons in the language of the islanders. He also cared for the sick, helping to nurse them to better health. He understood the value of literacy, and taught the locals to read and write (Engs, 1999, p. 8).

Later, Richard, who was a pious Presbyterian, was appointed pastor of the largest congregation on the islands. He also served the Kingdom of Hawaii as its Minister of Public Education. By the time of Armstrong's birth, Richard was well established in what seemed like a tropical paradise (Engs, 1999, p.12).

When Armstrong was 21 years old, his father died suddenly after being thrown from his horse and trampled to death. Soon after, Armstrong departed Hawaii to enroll at Williams College, a small liberal arts school in western Massachusetts that was recognized for character building, especially for the sons of the nation's working-class families. After graduation in 1862, with the country divided by a bloody civil war, Armstrong was appointed to military service with an infantry company from New York. In November of 1863, he was reassigned to command a group of Black soldiers [8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> Regiments of the United States Colored Troops], which provided Armstrong with his first extensive contact with Black Americans. "Samuel was pleased with his new troops as well. ' I tell you, this service will get to be the thing—all are satisfied—the nigs [sic] are willing, learn very quick, and the regiments runs twice as smoothly as a Volunteer regiment,' he told his friend Archie" (Engs, 1999, p. 46). In working with these

men, particularly during such trying times, Armstrong saw the need for a prescribed education for African Americans. The thoughts were on his mind as he began his work at Hampton.

Hampton was formed as a *normal school*, with a mission and purpose of “training of common school teachers for the South’s Black education system” (Anderson, 1988, p. 34). In spite of this charge, students in teacher training, as well as all other students, were required to take trade courses. In these classes, students practiced tasks relating to shoemaking, blacksmithing, machine operation, as well as carpentry. Female students learned sewing, cooking, and agricultural fieldwork.

The girls are taught the ordinary duties of a household, laundry-work, etc., and are thus fitted to become cleanly and thrifty housekeepers, while their personal habits are carefully superintended, and they are constantly instructed in the simple laws of health. (Armstrong & Ludlow, 1969, p. 46)

Armstrong believed that Black students, including those at Hampton, should learn the “dignity of labor” (Anderson, 1988, p. 34). He put students to work learning skills and providing income for the school. In doing so, students were provided with credits toward tuition costs, including the \$10 per month charge for room and board. Students were allowed to pay half of this fee ‘in labor.’ The additional cost of their school was typically absorbed through donations, which came from near and far. “Good mechanics, first-rate farm-hand and seamstresses can earn the whole of this amount [full tuition], but those pupils whose labor is of little value, and who are destitute, being either orphaned

or with impoverished parents, require and receive proper aid” (Armstrong & Ludlow, 1969, p. 47).

Armstrong was convinced that Blacks should only hold subservient roles, avoiding public office and positions of leadership and distinction. Blacks, he believed, were not capable of such headship and governance. Consequently, he created an educational system to ensure that Blacks were not trained for such things. “Armstrong insisted that the freedmen should refrain from participating in political life because they were culturally and morally deficient and therefore unfit to vote and hold office in ‘civilized’ society” (Anderson, 1988, p.38). After completing Armstrong’s program of study, students, while well prepared for work in many technical trades, remained ill equipped to hold more prominent and socially powerful positions. According to Anderson (1988), most graduates of Armstrong’s normal school had an education equivalent to that of a tenth grade student of one of the state’s White schools (p. 35)

In many ways Armstrong, and later Washington, were empathetic to southern Whites who were confident that Blacks were inferior beings. Yet, Armstrong and Washington thought that a good moral education kept Blacks more content with their subservient and acquiescent plight. In time, Washington, not Armstrong, became the paramount promoter of industrial education for Blacks.

John Hope Franklin details Washington’s initial days at Hampton Institute, and reports that Washington quickly and unreservedly adopted Armstrong’s

pedagogical theories of African American education. Franklin writes that Washington “drank deeply of Armstrong’s ideas” (Franklin, 1980, p. 275).

Like Armstrong, Washington believed that providing Blacks with manners and practical and vocational skills was the most advantageous education that could be provided at the time. That belief served Washington well after arriving at Tuskegee in 1881, especially after discovering the lack of equipment, facilities, and finances, as well as the resentment and unfriendliness of local Whites. To obtain any level of success would necessitate the monetary backing of northern Whites, and the acceptance of southern Whites. The latter could be obtained only with a certain amount of back scratching, and by convincing southern Whites that Tuskegee provided a non-threatening model for other schools to follow, offering benign courses in farming, mechanics, and domestic work. To gain their endorsements, Washington had to convince Whites that they would garner benefits from his institution.

Washington also faced the reservations and qualms of his own people, chiefly those who indicted him with placating the racial narrow-mindedness of southern Whites. Franklin argues that Washington worked diligently to convince Blacks that they could attain a better quality of life by “casting down their buckets” at Tuskegee. Franklin writes:

Washington never tired of urging blacks to develop habits and skills that would win places for them in their Southern communities. Intelligent management of farms, ownership of land, habits of thrift, patience, and

perseverance, and the cultivation of high morals and good manners were encouraged. (Franklin, 1980, p. 276)

While he acknowledged that classical subjects, like math, science, and history, were advantageous to some, he found them “impractical” for most southern Blacks (Franklin, 1980, p. 276). Despite the criticisms of some, misfortune did not befall Washington and his efforts at Tuskegee. In fact, he quickly became the embodiment of African American high education.

The Black administrators and school founders who modeled themselves after Washington best typify Washington’s imprint on early Black higher education. Of the numerous Washington *look-a-likes*, the most noteworthy example is Joseph Winthrop Holley, the son of a former slave who was born on a South Carolina cotton plantation during the Reconstruction. O’Brien (2007) details Holley’s childhood, early and later education, as well as Holley’s establishment, in 1903, of Albany Bible and Manual Training Institute [later became Albany State University]. O’Brien explains that northern White educators at various Presbyterian-related colleges and schools may have influenced Holley’s thoughts about the merits of slavery and the position of Blacks. Being taught in “a strict brand of Presbyterianism” led Holley to believe that Blacks were intellectually inferior to Whites (O’Brien, 2007, p. 809). Of this belief, O’Brien writes:

The white race, Holley was taught, had long engaged in Christian practice, and was more advanced socially, culturally, and intellectually. The task,



then, was to stay the course as students of civilization and not compete with or eclipse with authority. (O'Brien, 2007, p. 810)

These notions of Black inferiority would remain with Holley, even after years of study at Phillips Andover Academy, Lay College, and Lincoln University. In fact, these beliefs, as well as his admiration for his mentor, Booker T. Washington, would be ever-present as Holley prepared to found his own school in 1902. That same year, while on a visit to New York City, Holley met Washington, and was able to share his plans for opening a new school with him.

Holley's thoughts on White supremacy grew extreme over time. At times, he even sought the advice and support of fanatical politicians, like Benjamin Tillman, who often used their political positions to promote White superiority. Holley, like Washington, believed that Blacks needed a "moral education," which would "be useful in equipping them to be farmers, laborers, laundresses, and housekeepers in the regional economy" (O'Brien, 2007, p. 815).

In addition, like Washington, Holley had a gift for convincing northern Whites, like Rowland G. Hazard II, to give generously to his school. Moreover, while he was never able to compete with the size of donations that Washington received, he was able to keep his school afloat. When the philanthropic support was not enough to pay the bills, Holley turned to the gifts and talents of his students for the production of marketable products.

With Hazard's death in 1917, the future of Holley's school became less certain. Finally, at the recommendation of the school's trustees, the school ownership and control was transferred to the State of Georgia, becoming part of

the state college system. Over the next few years, power would be slowly stripped from Holley. There would be those who differed with Holley and his opinions on schooling for Blacks. By 1932, when the school fell under the control of the state's board of regents, Holley was all but powerless. He resigned in 1943 and died in 1958. However, his influences on the higher education of African Americans, like those of Washington, would live on.

Washington's biographer, Louis R. Harlan (1983), authored a two-volume study of Washington's 59-year long life. Harlan's second volume, *Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee, 1901-1915*, which won the *Bancroft Prize*, as well as the *Pulitzer Prize for Biography*, begins about the time of Washington's 45th birthday and at a time when Washington was near the peak of his prominence. In October of 1901, Washington was so distinguished that he was invited to dine with President Theodore Roosevelt at the White House. Harlan notes that the social became an overnight "sensation" (Harlan, 1983, p. 3). In spite of this fame, Harlan records the hostilities Washington faced from a number of Blacks to his left, especially W. E. B. Du Bois. He details how Washington dealt with an increasing opposition that followed his *Atlanta Exposition Address*, which later became known as *The Atlanta Compromise* and exemplified the vast differences that alienated Washington and Du Bois, with regard to their strategies for Black uplift.

Their divergences in ideology are also illustrated by the differing ways in which both men responded to the murder of Sam Hose at Palmetto, Georgia, a small community just outside of Atlanta. Hose, who worked as a farm hand for

Alfred Cranford, an affluent White landowner, reportedly killed Hose on April 13, 1899, as the two men argued about a debt. Following the incident, it was also alleged that Hose raped Cranford's wife, Mattie, and injured their infant son. Hose never received a trial for the charges but was captured 10 days later by a White mob, which, while 2,000 spectators cheered, burned Hose to death. Afterwards, some in the crowd collected pieces of Hose's charred flesh as souvenirs.

While Du Bois, after seeing Hose's knuckles displayed in an Atlanta store window, penned to the local newspaper "a cautiously worded letter protesting Hose's lynching, Washington "had nothing to say" on the matter, claiming that his position at Tuskegee "made him feel constrained to keep quiet" (Bay, 2009, p. 243). Du Bois, like Ida B. Wells, the most prominent advocate of the era, demanded justice for Hose's family. Wells, through a private investigator, discovered that Hose killed Cranford only after Cranford had threatened him with a gun and noted, "that Hose had fled the scene after exchanging shots with Cranford, rather than going to assault Mrs. Cranford and her infant son" (Bay, 2009, p. 243). Even with these discoveries, Washington remained silent for the following two months. Finally, in June of that year, Washington, in a letter to several newspapers, including the *Birmingham Age Herald*, "denounced the recent lynchings as bad for blacks and whites" yet cautioned African Americans to "repudiate the Negro rapist as a 'best in human form'" (Bay, 2009, p. 244).

Washington's response so offended Wells that she ended any association with Washington while reproaching him in a speech at the African American

Council's conference in Chicago. While Wells worked on establishing an anti-lynching bureau in the United States, Washington avoided the issue. This apparent apathy of the part of Washington provided Du Bois with additional grounds to oppose Washington, as he argued that Washington, in taking such positions, was "carefully appealing to American whites" (Bay, 2009, p. 244).

Wells, who often condemned Washington and Du Bois, sided with Du Bois here, believing that she and Du Bois recognized the need for a strong response to lynchings throughout the nation. Du Bois, like Wells, promoted a vigorous reaction to racial discrimination instead of the "accommodationist approach perfected by Booker T. Washington" (Bay, 2009, p. 245).

David Lewis (2000), in *W.E.B. Du Bois: The Fight for Equality and the American Century, 1919-1963*, notes that Du Bois advocated a more confrontational approach to racial equality than Washington, especially in his position as editor of *The Crisis*, the official publication of the NAACP. Therefore, while Washington's techniques usually pacified southern Whites, Du Bois strategies often infuriated them, especially when he advocated the social mixing of the races. Du Bois and his methods of protest even disturbed some Blacks.

Much of Harlan's second volume amounts to an authoritative condemnation of Washington's methods and motives. Harlan denounces Washington's failure to protest the wrongs he witnessed against African Americans, claiming that he accepted segregation, as well as the erosion of civil rights in the post Reconstruction South, so that he could garner personal gain as the White-chosen leader of southern Blacks. Yet, Harlan venerates Washington,

whom he claimed, “in his own way, fought against lynching, disfranchisement, peonage, education discrimination, and segregation” (Harlan, 1983, p. ix).

The *Atlanta Compromise*, which Washington presented on September 18, 1895, before a predominately-White audience, conciliated many political leaders, both Black and White, while angering others. Many viewed Washington’s analogy of a troubled ship whose mates were dying of thirst as a powerful illustration of the appeasement to Whites that they believed Washington espoused. In reading the *Compromise*, Washington said:

A ship lost at sea for many days suddenly sighted a friendly vessel. From the mast of the unfortunate vessel was seen a signal, “Water, water; we die of thirst!” The answer from the friendly vessel at once came back, “Cast down your bucket where you are.” A second time the signal, “Water, water; send us water!” ran up from the distressed vessel, and was answered, “Cast down your bucket where you are.” And a third and fourth signal for water was answered, “Cast down your bucket where you are.” The captain of the distressed vessel, at last heeding the injunction, cast down his bucket, and it came up full of fresh, sparkling water from the mouth of the Amazon River. (as cited in Harlan, 1983, p. 308)

Under the terms and conditions of the *Atlanta Compromise*, Blacks, in exchange for a very basic education, as well as mild assurances of legal due process, would submit to White political will and would discourage any protest, peaceful or otherwise, for equality and integration. For their part, northern Whites would continue to fund philanthropic efforts relating to educational charities.

Washington understood the imperative need for northern pecuniary assistance if his Tuskegee school were to flourish.

There were numerous northern organizations to help Washington and his efforts. At the time, new charities and foundations were established to help African Americans in the South. Black schools, like Tuskegee welcomed financial support from northern philanthropies. Charitable donations from philanthropists such as George Peabody, Andrew Carnegie, and John D. Rockefeller provided schools, endowments, as well as support for industrial education and faculty training. This generosity continued well in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The Julius Rosenwald Fund, which was not established until 1912, built over 5,000 public schools for southern Black students.

Washington found monetary backing from affluent northern business magnates like Andrew Carnegie. “The immensely wealthy Carnegie was charmed by Washington’s philosophy and example as a self-made man. Carnegie was an irascible, egotistical man who demanded effusive gratitude and public recognition, but Washington was equal to such demands” (Harlan, 1983, p.133).

Another Washington biographer, Samuel R. Spencer, Jr. (1955), also cites John D. Rockefeller and other northern philanthropists who generously gave to Washington’s Tuskegee. Spencer, in *Booker T. Washington and the Negro’s Place in American Life*, notes that the country’s most affluent entrepreneurs and capitalists, through enormous bequests to Tuskegee, validated their confidence in Washington and his school. Some of the gifts may have resulted from a deeply

rooted “Protestant doctrine of stewardship,” (Spencer, 1955, p. 116) while others may have come from dubious and debatable motives. Spencer claims that northern businesses that invested in the South were making wise financial decisions, understanding that the South could provide fertile avenues for monetary growth. Because of this, their investments in the South were advantageous by opening new markets for northern products.

In *Dangerous Donations: Northern Philanthropy and Southern Black Education, 1902-1930*, Eric Anderson and Alfred A. Moss, Jr. (1999) analyze the impact of northern philanthropy, especially that of Robert C. Ogden and the “Ogden Movement,” on southern Black education. Ogden, who was a friend and ally of Washington’s, was not the wealthiest of Tuskegee’s supporters. He did not have the deep pockets of the Rockefellers or of Andrew Carnegie. He might have been, however, the most imaginative and inventive. While a trustee at Tuskegee, Ogden, in 1901, organized, choreographed, and financed a railway trip for northern philanthropists, so that they might see, close up, the predicament of southern Black schools, including Tuskegee.

Ogden was a dazzling advertiser and promoter. He hoped that the excursion would reveal, with great clarity, as can only be seen in person, the appalling conditions, thereby motivating his guests to give generously to the cause. His first of five annual trips cost Ogden. He provided them with luxury train cars, exquisite meals, and first class accommodations, all well publicized and promoted.

Ogden's luxurious train included among its passengers John D. Rockefeller, Jr.; William Henry Baldwin, Jr., president of the Long Island Railroad; Georgia-born Wall Street financier George Foster Peabody; editor Walter Hines Page, a transplanted North Carolinian; and leading social gospel advocates the Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst of New York, Professor Francis Greenwood Peabody of Harvard, and Lyman Abbott, editor of Outlook. (Anderson & Moss, 1999, p. 43)

The impact of this and the following trips was profound. Rockefeller, so inspired by the 1901 expedition, immediately founded the General Education Board [GEB], which promoted Washington's educational philosophy for many years. For many years, Rockefeller and his father had wanted to establish some type of *Negro Education Board*. This might have never occurred, were it not for Ogden's efforts. Anderson and Moss claim that Ogden was "a genius at bringing people together, donors and educators, idealist and practical men of affairs. He had a knack for focusing public attention upon a problem, though he had no detailed method for solving it" (Anderson & Moss, 1999, p. 43).

Anderson and Moss also investigate the incongruous nature of the influence of the philanthropic foundations. While they acknowledge the significant power these foundations exerted, they also noted their limitations and boundaries. Most of these restrictions related to suspicious tendencies of southern White supremacists, who felt that financial aid for Black education was a roundabout way to manipulate race relations in the South. This condemnation forced northern patrons and their foundations to move vigilantly, forever trying, to



gain the favor of southern Whites. This attempt to reach common ground with southern Whites usually resulted in great anxiety and dreadful eventualities. In the end, the two sides could not come together. Their oppositional views toward the treatment of Blacks, especially at schoolhouses and college campuses, could not be prevailed.

For their part, Blacks also defied Ogden and the others, often demanding more Black teachers, while strongly resisting *race-specific* curriculum. They wanted educational offerings that compared with courses found in White colleges and schools. In many ways, the Ogden Movement ended with Ogden's last train excursion in 1906.

Du Bois held a vastly different view of the type of education that Blacks needed. This divergence probably related to the men's different educational backgrounds. Washington, as noted above, after surviving a thorny childhood as a slave in Virginia, was educated at Armstrong's Hampton School, seeing firsthand the benefit of receiving a vocational and industrial education. Du Bois, on the other hand, grew up in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, was educated at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, and later studied in Berlin, Germany, as well as at Harvard, where he earned his Ph.D. He was the first Black to receive a doctorate from the historic Ivy League school. Unlike Washington, Du Bois, did not experience racial adversity in youth. He first faced examples of racism while a student at Fisk. There, he was awakened to the harsh realities of lynching, prejudices, and Jim Crow laws. As a result, he became especially mistrusting of Whites, and believed that Blacks required outstanding classical education, like

the one he was receiving at Fisk. Du Bois believed that the *Compromise* did little, if anything, to advance the prosperity of Blacks, or to help them overcome incapacitating poverty and paucity.

Other prominent Blacks shared Du Bois' estimation, including Archibald H. Grimke, Paul Laurence Dunbar, Kelly Miller, and James Weldon Johnson. Du Bois referred to these scholarly academicians as the "talented tenth." Du Bois felt that these accomplished African Americans typified the potential results of gritty and unwavering fights for equal rights, rather than acquiescently submitting to discrimination, which seemed, at least to Du Bois, to be the rationale of Washington's *Atlanta Compromise*.

Jacqueline Moore (2003), in *Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois, and the Struggle for Racial Uplift*, claims that the ongoing clashes between Du Bois and Washington intensified, becoming more public in 1903, eight years after the delivery of Washington's *Atlanta Compromise*, with the release of Du Bois' *The Souls of Black Folks*. In this compilation of essays, Du Bois (1973), while praising the copious achievements of many accomplished Blacks, condemned Washington, even calling Washington and his followers "a cult," as he asserted that college-educated Blacks had abundantly demonstrated that members of their race could/should acquire college degrees. Of this belief, Du Bois writes: "Today it is proved by the fact that four hundred Negroes [sic], many of whom have been reported as brilliant students, have received the bachelor's degree from Harvard, Yale, Oberlin, and seventy other leading colleges" (Du Bois, 1973, p. 110).

Du Bois alleged that Washington's pronouncements and teachings were especially disheartening to those Blacks who had already sought and received a degree in higher education. "There is among educated and thoughtful colored men in all parts of the land a deep regret...at the wide currency and ascendancy which some of Mr. Washington's theories have gained" (Du Bois, 1973, p. 45).

Despite their dissimilar philosophies, both men desired a social betterment for their races. It was here that they sometimes achieved mutual respect, even if one merely acknowledged the good intentions of the other. Moore (2003) claims that Du Bois and Washington held some common beliefs. While Washington believed that some Blacks were deserving of a classic education, Du Bois acknowledged that Hampton and Tuskegee were making a meaningful contribution to the betterment of their race.

In the following years, those directly involved in the education of Blacks would typically take one side or the other, becoming, in a sense, the offspring of Washington's "Tuskegee Machine" or Du Bois' "Talented Tenth." Both positions led to differing schools of thought. In time, educators, both faculty and administrators, typically fell into one camp or the other.

White administrators of Black schools were also subject to the Washington v. Du Bois matter. These administrators had to placate many interests and groups, including northern philanthropic interests, as well as southern politicians. Buell G. Gallagher (1966), the ardently popular White president of Alabama's Talladega College, a sister school to Tougaloo, steadfastly supported Du Bois, and the theory of his "Talented Tenth." In *American Caste and the Negro*

*College*, Gallagher presents an opposing viewpoint to Washington, while exploring the history of the “Negro college” from 1904 to 1966. He believed, as did Du Bois, that African Americans deserved a classical education, which provided them with coursework in the arts, humanities, and sciences. With the knowledge gleaned from such classes, Gallagher believed that that Blacks could be lifted up from on top, a notion associated with Du Bois’ “Talented Tenth” instead of being pulled up from the bottom, as advocated by Washington.

In his chapter, “Detours and Dead Ends in Negro Education,” Gallagher argues that higher education has historically been used to maintain “social control over the Negro [sic].” He also claims that industrial education was “designed to keep the Negro [sic] into the lower income brackets of the economic system” (Gallagher, 1966, p. 196). He did believe, however, that some of those involved in the industrial education of Blacks had noble intentions. “The effort to educate the Negro took on the character of a high and holy crusade, to which the best products of the finest New England and Midwestern homes gave themselves, reckless of self, station, and purse, sometimes even in life as well” (Gallagher, 1966, p. 209).

Gallagher's did more than simply write about educational equality. He demonstrated his passion for it during his presidency at Talladega College, which lasted from 1933 to 1943. Jones and Richardson (1990) detail his presidency in *Talladega College: The First Century*. From the beginning of his tenure, the new president implemented pioneering change, especially regarding the school’s curriculum. Gallagher believed that Black students were capable of learning the

same type of material as their White peers. Therefore, he believed they should learn classic literature, as well as advanced science, not just trade-related skills and crafts. Black students, he was sure, needed a more comprehensive and liberal education.

Gallagher promptly directed that the college be split into two divisions [General Division and Major Division]. Freshmen and sophomores would take General Division courses, while juniors and seniors would complete their degrees with Major Division courses. In the General Division, students were “required to take survey courses in humanities, social sciences, natural sciences, physical sciences, and biology, as well as English, mathematics, and languages (Jones & Richardson, 1990, p. 113). Upon completion of these courses, all students took a comprehensive exam comprised of questions from the aforementioned subjects. Only after passing the test, could a student declare a major, and begin specialized coursework in that major. These courses comprised the Major Division. With the implementation of these divisions, Talladega demonstrated itself a progressive school, especially among Black colleges/universities.

Gallagher ushered in other changes, too. He believed that elucidation must come inside and outside of the classroom. Bringing excellent speakers, like multifaceted sociologist, author, historian, and editor, as well as civil rights advocate, W.E.B. Du Bois, became a priority, and soon came to realization. Atlanta University professor, William Stanley Beaumont Braithwaite, also addressed the student body, as did African American poet, Margaret Walker.

The distinguished speakers, in addition to captivating students, faculty, and staff, allured visitors from the local community. This enhanced relations between the public and the school. This thrilled Gallagher, who had even more momentous forms of community outreach in mind. He began exploring inventive ways of connecting with the public, as well as discovering ways to positively impact the daily lives of those in need. Outreach became a decisive component of the school's mission. Literacy programs were notably important, as illiteracy plagued and beleaguered the region. To elevate some of associated problems, the college dedicated a community reading room in the newly constructed Savery Library, which became a place for hosting public events, including lectures and art collections. The reading room was widely used and passionately popular, especially to a people so educationally disadvantaged and economically deprived (Jones & Richardson, 1990, p. 218)

Gallagher, as well as the college, would not rest on their laurels. Instead, they decided to do something even more transformational than providing a reading room. This plan, still addressing the need for enhanced literacy rates, created a book mobile that would travel around the rural area surrounding Talladega.

In 1940, the school purchased a one-half-ton Dodge panel truck equipped to haul 700 books and "began the long, arduous task" of covering the "red hills of Talladega County." The 40 rural schools, many of them one-room buildings for all grades and without libraries, served as stopping points, though the bookmobile often altered its route to reach individual families.

Later, stops were added at the state school for the deaf, six library stations, and various adult locations. (Jones & Richardson, 1990, p. 119)

Gallagher's popularity with the general public did not hold true with many students, who often viewed their president as too strict and authoritarian. Gallagher's opposition to fraternities and sororities best typified these feelings. Differing with many students, Gallagher believed that Greek organizations encumbered students' academic progression. He held a similar stance regarding the school's football program, which he eventually abolished in 1942 (Jones & Richards, 1990, p. 125).

Gallagher had an equally repressive spirit about students' freedoms. Gallagher loathed smoking, seeing it as a fire hazard, as well as a blot on the striking campus. He was even more opposed to drinking, which he exactingly forbade. Female students felt especially put upon by Gallagher and his administration. So much so, in fact, that some students charged Gallagher of sexual discrimination. After all, male students had fewer restrictions than their female peers. The men were allowed to come and go as they pleased, while the women were constrained by tyrannical rules. "Women could not leave campus in an automobile without the dean of women's consent, and then there must be in the car an approved adult, usually a faculty member or faculty wife" (Jones & Richardson, 1990, p. 128).

In most cases, however, Gallagher had the support of the faculty, who appreciated his efforts in establishing a system of tenure, as well as implementing an evenhanded base pay. Before Gallagher's presidency, faculty

had little job security and received deplorable wages. He also demanded that he, and he alone, be able to hire faculty. In the past, the AMA made faculty appointments. The relationship with the faculty was not always cozy. As with the students, Gallagher tended to act overbearing and dogmatic to the faculty, once accusing them of setting a poor example to their students.

As with a majority of Black colleges, Talladega frequently suffered from budgetary privations. Gallagher spent a great deal of his time begging for monies to keep the school afloat. The dawn of World War II mired his hard work. The war affected the school in numerous negative ways, making a fraught situation worse. Talladega faced many of the same wartime mandates that burdened American households, including the rationing of gasoline and other materials needed for the military in Europe, North African, and in the Pacific. In October of 1942, the college had only 37 gallons of gasoline, which would have to get the school through the year's end. Responding to what appear to be a distressed situation, Gallagher suspended all avoidable travel and asked students to refrain from traveling home over the Christmas holiday. With draft letters arriving regularly, Gallagher allowed male seniors to expedite their coursework so that degrees could be completed before deployment. In these reactions, Gallagher demonstrated himself to be an able leader, particularly during adverse conditions (Jones & Richardson, 1990, p. 141).

The school's appalling predicament may have led to Gallagher's decision to resign, though that relationship was never made. At this time of his resignation, Gallagher claimed that his family was not happy at Talladega,



writing, “he could not ask them forever to be unhappy for me” (Jones & Richardson, 1990, p. 141).

While Gallagher had numerous accomplishments at Talladega, his most notable endeavor may have been the creation of a student-led college council, which provided Black students with a voice in the creation and implementation of college policies, an idea that was uncommon and surprising at the time. Mohr and Wilson (2011), in *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture*, describe Gallagher’s imaginative approach to student empowerment.

Under his leadership, the institution implemented a more modern general education program and introduced the College Council, which promoted democracy on campus by giving all segments of the college a voice and a sense of responsibility. (Mohr & Wilson, 2011, p. 83)

The formation of the College Council demonstrated that Blacks could govern themselves and determine their own destinies. They could also, as was exemplified by the Council, partially define the future of Talladega College. This shared leadership was fruitful, as the college enjoyed enhanced financial endowments, improved buildings and grounds, as well as enhanced national recognition for academic excellence.

Gallagher was not alone in his resistance to the customary and limited higher education offered to Blacks. He did follow in the footsteps of Du Bois, in the shadow of schools originated by the AMA, as well as in the wake of colleges created by the northern Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians. These churches, especially the various divisions of the Methodist Church, were

especially feverous in producing academic colleges and schools, rather than institutions of industrial training. “The leading Negro philanthropic organization was the African Methodist Episcopal Church, which paved the way for Black religious denominations to establish and maintain colleges for Black students. The leading African Methodist Episcopal colleges were Allen University, Morris Brown College, and Wilberforce College” (Anderson, 1988, p. 240).

These schools, unlike institutions of the Hampton/Tuskegee model, offered a classical course of study, including classes related to liberal education, which is best defined by the Association of American Colleges and Universities:

Liberal Education is an approach to learning that empowers individuals and prepares them to deal with complexity, diversity, and change. It provides students with broad knowledge of the wider world [e.g. science, culture, and society] as well as in-depth study in a specific area of interest.

The administrators of the aforementioned colleges believed, as did their faculty, that Black students had the natural capacity and aptitude to be prodigious scholars and exceptional leaders in their communities (Anderson, 1988, p. 241).

This schooling was based on the notion of intellectual impartiality. The curriculum was premised on the idea that no one race is cerebrally and academically superior to another. The Freeman’s Aid Society proudly and exuberantly claimed: “This society has demonstrated to the South that the freedmen possess good intellectual abilities and are capable of becoming good scholars” (Anderson, 1988, p. 241).

Faculty and administrators at Tougaloo certainly believed that Black students could become flourishing academicians. This would lay the foundation for graduates to study law, medicine, and perhaps to get into politics. The school did not follow the Hampton/Tuskegee model. Instead, those who taught there saw Blacks as equal to Whites, even in their ability to comprehend and retain multifarious information. For this reason, Tougaloo has always centered its educational coursework on a curriculum of classical text and literature.

Even schools like Talladega and Tougaloo, though created and designed to teach academic curriculum, saw a need to include some level of vocational training. Many of their students came from fiscally destitute homes, and dreadfully needed to gain income from fruitful employment. In addition, their manual labors resulted in plentiful crops, which provided food for the campus kitchens, as well as various craft products that could be sold to help the schools purchase badly needed supplies or to simply pay the bills. In addition, most graduates from these schools needed immediate employment once they completed their studies. They, unlike many of their White counterparts, could not wait for the perfect job to come along. If necessary, they had to put their vocational training to work in workshops and factories. It was quite common, at the time, to find college educated Blacks working assembling products in low wage positions.

Daniel C. Thompson (1973), in *Black Private Colleges at the Crossroads*, explains many of the trials that Black schools faced, when providing educationally sound programs, while simultaneously offering enough vocational

courses to prepare students for instantaneous employment. Of these challenges, Thompson writes:

Since the vast majority of their students come from economically insecure homes and will need to enter some occupation immediately upon graduation, these colleges have endeavored, on the one hand, to prepare their students to qualify for some definite occupation so that they might be able to compete successfully for at least limited opportunities in the world of work. (Thompson, 1973, p.191)

Yet, the same schools prepared many of their students for graduate and professional programs. In addition to the aforementioned dilemma, Black colleges have historically enrolled students who were not ready for collegiate level work, probably because of students having attended poorly funded and underperforming elementary schools. To counter these academic deficiencies, many Black colleges, including Tougaloo, provided the local African American communities with proficient elementary schools. “With the nonexistent opportunities for public education for Blacks in the South, private HBCU’s were charged with providing courses at the elementary and high school level” (White-Cook, 2008, p. 1)

Thompson explains that the underfunding of Black elementary schools was commonplace and a widely accepted practice. “There was not even a pretense of making black schools equal to white school” (Thompson, 1973, p. 192). Thompson also notes that white schools were typically funded at levels of “three to five times greater than black schools” (Thompson, 1973, p. 192). The

insufficient funding led to dreadfully dilapidated schools, with antiquated textbooks, lab equipment, and supplies. (Thompson, 1973, p. 192).

In addition, public high schools for Blacks were non-existent until the 1940s. Before that time, Black colleges, like Tougaloo, had adjoining high schools. Rury and Hill (2012) detail this dearth of Black public high schools, explaining that before World War II, there were few Black secondary schools, especially in the rural South, in spite of the fact that these rural areas were where most blacks resided. Rury and Hill claim that in 1940, the year before the country's entry into World War II, "more than three-quarters of African Americans lived in the South, most of them in rural communities where secondary schooling was sparse or nonexistent" (Rury & Hill, 2012, p. 177).

Within the next four decades, however, this condition was remediated, as Black high schools became more and more commonplace. The growing number of Black secondary schools can be contributed, according to Rury and Hill (2012), to the relentless efforts of Black parents who desired prosperity for their children. Secondary education, the parents rightly understood, provided the avenue to a richness that could be gleaned no other way.

Rury and Hill also detailed the advent of some of the best performing Black high schools, like Booker T. Washington High School in Atlanta, Dunbar High School of Baltimore, and Indianapolis' Crispus Attucks High School. Unfortunately, schools like the aforementioned were too rare, especially in light of the ever-growing Black migration to the urban areas. "Consequently, they became overcrowded and the quality of education suffered" (Rury & Hill, 2012, p.

177). In due course, Black parents became more pronounced in their appeals for better schools for their children. Eventually, the protest of the Civil Rights Movement encompassed the parent's demands for better secondary education. Parents were not alone in their pleas, as others within the Black community also sought improvements in the quality and services of Black high schools. "Civil rights organization, community leaders, parents, and students all demanded more resources for Black institutions, employing tactics that ranged from boycotts and walkouts to legal challenges in the courts" (Rury & Hill, 2012, p.178). Regardless, Black high schools, still underfunded, continued to underperform, while failing to equip Black students for college.

Charles M. Payne, (2007) in *I've Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle*, documents other reasons why Black students often entered college unqualified for the academic challenges they faced. He notes that Black youth had fewer days in the average school year than their White peers did. Black schools were closed when the older students were needed in the cotton fields. Aaron Henry, who became a decisive leader in the Civil Rights Movement, remembered asking his mother why this was so. "She answered that it was because he was smarter than white kids; they needed extra time" (Payne, 2007, p. 17). While her response was humorous, the reality was far from amusing. While Black children were laboring in the field, White students were being prepared for college educations and professional careers. This was especially true in the Mississippi Delta where life, especially the lives of Blacks, truly revolved around the region's most profitable crop.

“Cotton is more than a crop in the Delta, it is a form of mysticism. It is a religion and a way of life” (Payne, 2007, p. 16). The need for agricultural workers continually affected young Blacks, especially those in the Delta, and their desire to seek a better life through schooling. Of the realities of African American life in the Delta, Payne writes:

Most Delta counties were three-quarters Black, and the Blacks were overwhelmingly agricultural laborers, and domestics. They were a poor and suppressed population even as compared to Blacks in the rest of Mississippi. (Payne, 2007, p.16)

The advent of synthetic clothes, as well as the coming of mechanized farm equipment, and the growing importation of cheaper materials, lessened the impact of cotton to the Delta’s Blacks and their schools. Even still, Black children, who were usually more impoverished than White children, often had to stay home from school, so that they, in some way, might provide for the needs of their families, usually by working with their parents in the fields. Even as cotton’s influence lessened, its significance lingered and continued to affect the educational aspirations of Black youth. While White children were in the classroom eight months of the year, the schools of their Black peers operated on “split sessions,” and were only operational for about six months each year. “Schools with spit-sessions opened in July and closed at the end of August, the beginning of cotton harvest. The schools reopened in November and concluded the term in the early spring, just before cotton was planted” (Aiken, 2003, p. 153).

Consequently, students entered the college classrooms ill prepared for scholarly work, and usually requiring extensive “remedial education.” The faculty of historically Black colleges and universities provided much of this remediation. Like the poorly financed elementary schools, historically Black colleges and universities were [and are] under-subsidized, rarely endowed with generous bankrolls. These schools struggled to educate those often not prepared for college.

In their text, *Historically Black Colleges and Universities: Their Place in American Higher Education*, Roebuck and Murty (1993) examine the role, current and past, of historically Black colleges and universities [HBCU]. They also provide a comprehensive history of the HBCUs, dividing the history into five periods, beginning with the “antebellum period” and ending with the “modern period.” The most enduring period was the “separate, but equal period,” which lasted from 1896 into the 1960s, nearly at the same time as Beittel’s arrival at Tougaloo.

Roebuck and Murty (1993) provide profiles of each major HBCU that includes each institution’s mission statement, location, administrative structure, and degrees offered. Tougaloo, in spite of its place in civil rights history, is barely mentioned and is noted only once. In its lone reference, it is incorrectly called “Tougaloo Institute.” The book, however, provides extensive information on several of Tougaloo’s sister schools, like Lemoyne College, which was founded seven years before Tougaloo, later becoming LeMoyne-Owen College.



Roebuck and Murty note that each HBCU is uniquely different, although they share many analogous characteristics. Most notably, all HBCUs were formed in climates of hostilities and misfortune. At the time of the report [1993] there were 109 HBCUs, though in 2012 there are 105. They also define the typical student makeup at a HBCU, noting that these pupils are often living “under severe legal, educational, economic, political, and social restrictions” (Roebuck & Murty, 1993, p. 3).

These schools are poorer than comparable White colleges. “They are poor in terms of financial resources, physical plant, and teaching facilities” (Roebuck & Murty, 1993, p. 3). Roebuck and Murty also provide a helpful definition of HBCUs. They write:

Historically black colleges and universities are black academic institutions established prior to 1964 whose principal mission was, and still is, the education of black Americans. Each HBCU is legally authorized by the state in which it is located either to be a junior college or to provide an educational program for which a bachelor’s degree is conferred. (Roebuck & Murty, 1993, p. 3)

HBCUs have faced an abundance of negative assessments over the years. Critics claim that HBCUs place too much emphasis on Black culture, while devaluing the traditional subjects of a classical education. Others, like McGrath (1965), Sowell (1972), and Junod (1987), argue that the schools are simply offering an inferior educational experience.

Reportedly, most HBCUs provided an intellectual disservice to students and are characterized by insufficient financial resources, underpaid and incompetent teachers, a dearth of research scholars, and a semiliterate student culture. (Roebuck & Murty, 1993, p. 5)

Supporters of these institutions defend the schools' missions, also noting that the institutions have traditionally been shortchanged in the allocation of federal and state dollars. These problems have led, especially since 1954, to declining enrollment and graduation rates at historically Black schools, while more and more Black students are graduating from predominately-White colleges (Roebuck & Murty, 1993, p. 7).

Scholars, like Frederick Chambers (1972), argue that the historically Black schools have been broadly disregarded and ignored by researchers. Chambers makes this claim in "Histories of Black Colleges and Universities," which appeared in the *Journal of Negro History*. In the article, Chambers argues that Black colleges, although they have produced some of America's utmost Black leaders, contributed to vibrant economies and cultures, have been discounted and snubbed by historical researchers and authors.

Chambers claims that Mississippi's Black colleges have been particularly disregarded, noting that most of these schools have few printed histories. Those that do exist are typically non-comprehensive, frequently focusing on the school's origins and earliest history. Most of the texts are dated, not including more recent historical events.

Some scholars, on the other hand, have tried to filling the historical gap over the past few years. Marybeth Gasman (2007) in “Swept under the Rug? A Historiography of Gender and Black Colleges,” addresses the absence of research of Blacks in higher education, as she looks specifically at the omission of the historical account of Black women in higher education, even those women relating to Black institutions. Gasman writes:

This omission is especially troublesome in light of the fact that throughout the history of black colleges, female students have been in the majority. Of course, black women have not constituted the majority of black college leadership positions. These ranks have been dominated by whites and black men. (Gasman, 2007, p. 761)

Gasman, in research for her article, divides the literature into three sections. The first and most dominant section of literature relates to the “Philanthropic Outside Control,” which details the link between White philanthropists and Black colleges. The second group of literature is of a sociological nature, examining the interaction between Black students and Black campuses. The third section, which is the sparsest, relates to Black women in higher education. This section “includes historical literature on Black women’s experiences in high education” (Gasman, 2007, p. 762). Gasman adds, “Black women have been participants in higher education for more than a century, but they are almost totally absent from the research literature; rarely is the impact of racism and sexism on black women in academe examined” (Gasman, 2007, p.

762). Like other areas of Blacks in higher education, Gasman hopes that future years will bring additional research of such a worthwhile subject.

There has also been an attempt to increase the literature relating to Black schools in Mississippi. This body of work would drastically expand in 1990 with David Sansing's *Making Haste Slowly: The Troubled History of Higher Education in Mississippi*, which followed ten years of exhaustive research into Mississippi's eight universities, fifteen junior colleges, as well as details on schools that have come and gone over time. He traces higher education in the state to the establishment, in 1808, of Jefferson College at Washington, Mississippi. He also details the advent of other early schools, including the University of Holly Springs and the Mississippi Female College [started by the Baptists] and Oakland College [a Presbyterian School, which opened in 1830] (Sansing, 1990, p. 20).

Another early Mississippi college, MacDonald Hall, named for the Methodist minister who founded it in 1866, A. C. MacDonald, was also located in Holly Springs. The school, which was supported by the Freedmen's Aid Society and the Northern Methodist Episcopal Church, and began as an elementary school, was officially chartered in 1870 as Shaw University. The name change reflected the "freed people's desire for an education that extended from grade school to college" (Bay, 2009, p. 23). In 1915, it was renamed Rust University, maintaining its Methodist affiliation, while placing a greater emphasis on their offerings of college courses.

Sansing also examines African American institutions of higher education, noting that the state provided no public education for Blacks in the early days. Any schooling Blacks were afforded came mainly at the cost of individuals, without any outside assistance.

Additionally, Sansing gives specific attention to Mississippi's Black schools between 1944 and 1954. He devotes two chapters to the "Meredith crisis," which occurred at Ole Miss in 1962. Regardless, there is still much untold about the significance of Blacks in higher education in Mississippi.

Tougaloo, one of Mississippi's most notable Black colleges, is also lacking in recorded history. It's only comprehensive history was written in 1979 by Clarice Campbell and originated as her dissertation at The University of Mississippi. With the contributions of Oscar Rogers, Jr., it was published as *Mississippi: The View from Tougaloo*, and is widely accepted as the primary historical record of the school.

Throughout the years, numerous external forces have shaped Tougaloo, both good and bad. One of the destructive forces has been the racial context in which the school operated. Tougaloo has endured a number of racial trials and tribulations. One such time began with the 1896 Supreme Court ruling *Plessy v. Ferguson*, which permitted the notion of "separate but equal" transportation facilities for Black and Whites (*Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537. 1896).

In 1890, Louisiana passed the "Separate Car Law," which claimed to ensure passenger comfort by directing railroads to provide "equal but separate cars" for Blacks and Whites. Under the mandate, it became illegal for anyone to

occupy seats in a railroad car that was designated for the other race. In 1891, a group of Blacks decided to test the dictate's constitutionality, pledging to take the case to the Supreme Court.

The group, after acquiring legal counsel, had Homer A. Plessy sit in a railroad coach designated for "whites only" on a commuter train that connected New Orleans and Covington, Louisiana. After refusing to move, Plessy was arrested for violating the state's separate-car law.

Louisiana claimed that their policy of separating the races was legal as long as the services were equal. The defense argued that the question was not over accommodations, but over the state's ability to label a person by his or her race.

The Supreme Court ruled that separate facilities were legal, as long as they were "equal." This decision gave legal precedence, at the federal level, to protect those who oppressed African Americans through Jim Crow laws, which first appeared soon after Reconstruction, and with the presidential election of Rutherford B. Hayes. At this time, the South replaced Reconstruction laws with new ones that limited the rights of Blacks. These laws allowed White planters, industrialists, and merchants to thrive, while African Americans descended into poverty.

The origins of Jim Crow is unknown, though it is frequently associated with Thomas Rice, a minstrel performer of the 1830s, who, after hearing a Black man singing "Jump Jim Crow," adopted a similar rendition for his performances. Rice's act, which became a popular minstrel routine, led to the widespread use of the

term “Jim Crow,” which, by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, referred to the legal separation of the races.

Three years after the Plessy ruling, another “separate but equal” landmark ruling was applied to public education. That case, *Cumming v. Richmond County Board of Education*, originated in Richmond County, Georgia, in 1899. The plaintiffs in the case, three Black citizens of the aforementioned county, claimed that a county tax, which was levied against all of the county’s residents, both White and Black, was illegal, as the collected funds were used only to benefit public schools that were designated as for *whites only*. The case, which reached the United States Supreme Court in October of 1899, was decided in favor of Richmond County, when the Court’s justices ruled that they [the Supreme Court Justices] had no right to interfere with the previous ruling issued by the Georgia Supreme Court. (*Cumming v. Richmond County Board of Educ.*, 1899) This was a blow to those seeking equality in education for African Americans. The *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling ultimately overturned the decision.

During 1952, the Supreme Court granted reviews of five cases relating to “separate but equal” claims. One case, (*Bolling v. Sharpe*, 1954) challenged school segregation in the nation’s capital, at a time in which the entire city was under the purview of the Congress. In September of 1950, a group of Black students attempted to enroll for classes at Sousa Junior High School, a newly constructed “whites only” school within the city limits of Washington, D. C. With the support of the city’s school board, the principal refused to enroll the students, which led to the aforementioned case. In preparation for trial, studies revealed

that the city invested less money in its antiquated and more crowded Black schools. In spite of that evidence, a federal judge dismissed the case.

In another case, (*Davis v. County School Board of Prince Edward County*, 1952), the parents of several Black students of R.R. Moton High School in Farmville, Virginia, sued the county school board, claiming that Moten had no cafeteria, medical clinic, or gymnasium. They also argued that the school's science laboratories were inadequate, teachers were underpaid, and busses were in disrepair. Lawyers for the plaintiffs, Spottswood Robinson and Oliver Hill, presented extensive testimony, primarily from social scientists, who explained the detrimental effects of segregation, detailing the way it adversely affects children. The federal courts discounted the testimony, but did order the school district to begin construction on a new "all black" high school.

Of the five cases combined for the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, only one, (*Gebhart v. Belton*, 1952), was a victory for those seeking an end to segregation within the nation's public schools. The parents of two Black children, Ethel Belton and Shirley Bulah, filed this case. The case revealed that Belton rode a public bus 50 miles from Claymont, Delaware, where there was an up-to-date high school for White students, to Wilmington, where she attended the city's only Black high school. Some 19 miles away, in Hockessin, a small community originally settled by Quakers, Shirley Bulah attended a one-room elementary school that was so ill equipped it did not have modern toilets. The White school, located in the same New Castle County community, had multiple classrooms, contemporary bathrooms, as well as a basketball court. In response to these



injustices, the chancery court granted an injunction ordering the children admitted to White schools because the Black schools were “substantially unequal.”

Campbell and Rodgers (1979) detail the impact of these decisions on Tougaloo, as well as on the Black children of Mississippi. Since the state, which excelled at providing a *separate* education for Blacks, was never able to muster an *equal* school experience for its students of color, Tougaloo was, essentially, a secondary school. In fact, they maintained a high school on the campus until 1957.

Before the closing of Tougaloo’s high school, the Supreme Court issued another court rule that greatly affected the school. In 1953, the Court decided to reexamine the original meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment, specifically scrutinizing the “equal protection clause,” which mandates that the states provide equal protection under the law to all of its citizens. The Court, while appearing ready to end “separate but equal,” needed justification for such a ruling. They needed compelling testimony from historians and constitutional scholars.

On December 8, 1954, Thurgood Marshall and Robinson, in oral arguments for the NAACP, claimed that the Plessy decisions had been conceived in errors, while pleading that the justices reverse that ruling. Nine days later, the decision in the “Brown case,” which was read by Chief Justice Earl Warren, overruled the 1896 Plessy decision, proclaiming that separate cannot be equal. Southern states, including Mississippi, were ordered to integrate their public schools “with all deliberate speed.” Moreover, while the Brown decision more directly affected elementary and secondary public schoolings, it eventually

had repercussions on higher education throughout the South, leading to the push for the integration of college and universities, too.

Warren postponed consideration of just how to desegregate America's public schools. The Court did not issue instructions to district courts on how to merge Black and White school systems but instructed defendants, as well as attorney generals of states that would be impacted, to present their opinions. It marked the end of one extended resistance, but the beginning of another.

On May 31, 1955, the Court issued what came to be known as *Brown II*. In that ruling, the Court again affirmed the unconstitutionality of racial discrimination, and noted the impediments that schools faced in complying with the previous ruling. Warren, in defending Brown, stated, "constitutional principles cannot be allowed to yield simply because of disagreement with them." While not setting a firm deadline for implementation of integration, the Court instructed applicable schools to admit Black students.

Not everyone agreed with the social changes that were contributed to the Brown ruling. Determined to halt the inclination toward Black equality, those opposed to racial mixing organized into resistance groups, including the White Brotherhood, the National Association for the Advancement of White People, the Southern Gentlemen, and the Christian Civic League. They depicted themselves as the last stronghold against the tyranny of the federal government, which they believed had overreached its power in the Brown decision. They also viewed themselves as the protectors of racial integrity. The most influential of these

groups was the White Citizens' Council, whose members included governors, congressional representatives, and judges.

The White Citizens' Councils, which originated in Mississippi with 1954 with the publication of *Black Monday*, a pamphlet named for the day that the Brown decision was handed down. The author, Judge Tom Brady, in callous words attacked the Court and its ruling. In referring to his perceived inferiority of Blacks, Brady wrote, "You can dress a chimpanzee, housebreak him, and teach him to use a knife and fork, but it will take countless generations of evolutionary development, if ever, before you can convince him that a caterpillar or cockroach is not a delicacy" (as cited in Dittmer, 1994).

Charles C. Bolton (2008) explains that Mississippi took longer than any state to fully implement "Brown." In fact, it took more than ten years of "the persistent prodding from Black parents and grudging support for an end to segregated education from the federal government" (Bolton, 2008, p. 123). Finally, after the formation of the Mississippi White Citizens' Council and the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission, two organizations dedicated to fighting integration at all costs, Mississippi was able to begin to desegregate its schools. This came only after violence and death, and thanks to the perseverance and resolve of individuals like Gilbert Mason, who, while practicing as a medical doctor, led the "first direct-action protest in the state," (Bolton, 2008, p.130) with the 1959 "wade-in" of the segregated beaches of the Mississippi Gulf Coast. In response to Mississippi's tentativeness and initial refusal to implement "Brown," Mason and others filed suit, eventually forcing the state to comply with

the will of federal of law. All of these events, one way or another, affected Tougaloo, its students, as well as its administrators.

Joy Ann Williamson (2004) also provides a brief history of Tougaloo while focusing on Tougaloo's role in the Civil Rights Movements. She also notes the additional resentments that followed the Brown decision. The White Citizens' Council was born of this uncharitable spirit. The Sovereignty Council, while slightly less radical than the White Citizens' Council, was of the same essence. Both wanted to prevent the federal government from interfering with the ways that southern Whites treated southern Blacks. "The Sovereignty Commission grew out of the same anti desegregation spirit, and the two groups worked in tandem to defeat desegregation efforts in general and school desegregation in particular" (Williamson, 2004, p. 557).

Williamson also examines "safe places to meet and plan civil disobedience," (Williamson, 2004, p. 554) roles that some Black colleges played in the Civil Rights movement. She focuses on Tougaloo College and its removal of president Beittel, who "resigned" in 1964, after four years on the job. Beittel, the school's last White president was devoted to Civil Right causes and was not apologetic for that passion. He was accused by the Sovereignty Commission of mixing politics and education. Tougaloo, at the time, was in dire financial shape, and dreadfully needed to forge new and monetarily advantageous relationships with philanthropic groups, such as the Ford Foundation. Many of these organizations feared bad publicity that could come with *guilt by association*, as Tougaloo and Beittel angered and frustrated White Jacksonians. Both angered

much of Mississippi. Tougaloo found itself caught between two powerful forces that could not be tamed. On one side, there were those seeking equality for Blacks. On the other side were those who wanted Blacks to receive an inferior education, while keeping them in lowly positions of manual labor. Tougaloo's quandary is an example of what historically Black colleges paid for institutional autonomy.

Tougaloo's quandary is an example of what HBCUs across the South debated: could it afford to be involved in the Civil Rights Movement? Could it financially afford to spend multiple hours and resources defending itself and its commitment to African-American equality in the face of constant state pressure? Under different circumstances, Tougaloo may not have entertained such questions. In 1964, its place in the movement and financial reality forced the institution to examine its mission.

(Williamson, 2004, p. 555)

Clarice Campbell, who came to Tougaloo in 1963 during the heart of the civil rights struggle, also published a collection of correspondences that she titled *Civil Rights Chronicle: Letters from the South*. This compilation of letters is mainly sentimental but does give clues to the Jim Crow world in which Tougaloo existed. Campbell, like several members of the Tougaloo faculty, came to the school with an intimate understanding of the repercussions of racism in a Jim Crow culture. Campbell joined the faculty at Tougaloo, believing that in doing so she could contribute to the betterment of Blacks in Mississippi. Her personal experiences motivated her to these ends.

Campbell, like her colleagues on the faculty at Tougaloo, was dedicated to helping Black students acquire college educations in spite of the tremendous obstacles that came with being Black and poor in the South. By this point in her career, Campbell had already taught at Rust and Claflin colleges, both schools with a United Methodist affiliation. Campbell, herself, was an active member in that denomination.

Throughout her work as a White faculty member at three Black colleges, she learned the dolor and distress that faced most students *of color*. She also learned about the challenges that faculty members faced, especially those viewed as *agitators*, who were from *other places*.

Campbell, like many of Tougaloo's White faculty, faced ongoing difficulties, especially in their relations with the larger White community of Jackson. Campbell, for example, had many tribulations with members of her own faith-family at Galloway United Methodist Church. She was often angered that her own church, with the use of bouncer and security officers, kept Blacks, sometimes by force, from attending Sunday worship.

Campbell is remembered for her participation in the numerous attempts to integrate Galloway Memorial Methodist Church, as well as her support of her students in their various protest and voter drive efforts. Campbell, a life-long member of the Methodist Church, selected Galloway for her church home, and was deeply troubled to find that it, like so most public places in the South, was segregated. She was not alone in her concerns. Her pastor, Dr. W. J.

Cunningham, shared her worries but felt that the members needed time to accept such change. Campbell was unwilling to wait (Campbell, 1997, p. 236).

The struggle to integrate Galloway Memorial Methodist Church, while not unique to Central Mississippi [there were numerous and ongoing attempts to desegregate many churches in and around Jackson], was more widely publicized than other cases. This might relate to Galloway's role as the mother-church of Methodism in Mississippi, as it was the largest Methodist congregation in the state and was located in the city of the denomination's Mississippi-flagship school [Millsaps College]. It was also home to the state's bishop-in-residence, Bishop Marvin A. Franklin [who was replaced by a more progressive leader in 1964, Bishop Edward J Pendergrass].

The conflict, which began with a segregationist resolution of the Galloway's Official Board on June 12, 1961, led to the 1963 resignation of its long-term pastor, Dr. W. B. Selah, who had served Galloway for eighteen years. The accounts are detailed in Cunningham's (1980) *Agony at Galloway: One Church's Struggle with Social Change*. Cunningham replaced Selah as pastor of what Cunningham describes as "Fortress Galloway" (Cunningham, 1980, p. 13) and "the Cathedral of Mississippi Methodism" (Cunningham, 1980, p.13). Cunningham devotes his first chapter in defense of Selah, while condemning the local congregation for not having followed the basic teaching of Methodism, as found in the denomination's *Book of Discipline*.

The church's troubles were aggravated by events taking place around the South, in Mississippi, and often within Jackson. These events, such as the arrival

of the Freedom Riders in Jackson in 1961, while not directly relating to Galloway, stoked racial fears and anxiety. Of that time, Cunningham writes:

It is hard to exaggerate the animosity against the Federal Government for its encroachment upon the placid "Southern way of life." In wrathful indignation one of the state's most prominent jurists expostulated, "The people of Mississippi are not going to stand for it!" Organized and powerful opposition in the South took the virulent form of the Citizen's Council, and even later the lawless violence of the Ku Klux Klan. (Cunningham, 1980, p. 5)

In spite of the swelling strains, Selah held on. He remonstrated a second resolution, which was issued by the Official Board on January 14, 1963, which took a more severe stance on segregation within the church, arguing that "it is not un-Christian that we prefer to remain an all-white congregation" (Cunningham, 1980, p. 5). Even after having heard Selah's resilient objections, the resolution passed 184 to 13. More than anything else, Selah objected to the local church overriding the law of the larger congregation.

The Methodist *Book of Discipline*, revised every four years, stated unequivocally for the quadrennium 1960-1964 "All persons seeking to be saved from their sins and sincerely desiring to be Christian in faith and practice, are proper candidates for membership in the Methodist Church." While the statement made no specific racial reference, the term "all persons" cut across ethnic lines. (Cunningham, 1980, p. 6)



Selah could not continue the pastorate, even after recently being appointed to his nineteenth year of service at Galloway, as he received word that five Black men had been turned away from holy worship at his church.

Cunningham details what happened that Sunday morning, June 19, 1963:

Dr. Selah was on his way to the pulpit when he noticed a crowd of people on the street in front of the church. He asked his young associate minister, Jerry Furr, to investigate and bring back a report. In a few minutes, Mr. Furr came quietly to the pulpit and reported to Dr. Selah that five Negroes [sic] had been turned away from worship by the ushers at the door. Be it noted here that the Negroes [sic] were not arrested, as was later reported; they were turned away. Arrest came later. (Cunningham, 1980, p. 7)

Cunningham decided to take a less hostile approach, claiming to be “their pastor and not their judge.” A passive approach would not work, as a perfect storm of the Klan, the White Citizens’ Council, and other White segregationists was forming against Cunningham and Galloway Church. In addition to these burdens for the new minister, several members of the faculty at Tougaloo were planning “kneel ins” at Jackson areas churches. As Galloway was the church home to several members of Tougaloo’s faculty [most notably John Garner and Clarice Campbell], it seemed the ideal place to begin their attempts at integrating Jackson’s places of worship. One Sunday morning, shortly after Cunningham’s appointment to Galloway Methodist, Garner and a Black student from Tougaloo were arrested while attempting to worship together at Galloway (Cunningham, 1980, p.15).

Not long after this episode, Campbell requested that one of her Black peers at Tougaloo, Cleveland Page, be allowed to use the church's impressive pipe organ one quiet afternoon, so that he might tape-record his organ music as part of his application packet for graduate studies at a northern school.

Cunningham agreed to Campbell's request, but they feared, as did Page, that there could be trouble, especially if church members found out that "a Negro [sic], however talented, was running his fingers over the console of the Galloway pipe organ" (Cunningham, 1980, p. 22). Page was so worried that he refused to enter the sanctuary unless several church members accompanied him. Other than one brief scare, when someone shook the church's front door, the private concert was recorded without confrontation.

Over the next several years, Campbell continued her attempts to integrate the congregation at Galloway. Each time, she and her Black guests were turned away. Over the same years, Cunningham would contemplate what Bishop Galloway, long since dead, would think of the church bearing his name. Galloway had frequently written about a Christian compassion for those of all races. He even mentioned such in his papers and sermons. His biography makes the claim, too. "But a chief characteristic of the man was his concern for the Negro [sic]. He took up the cudgels for negro education when it was unpopular to do so. He was far ahead of his time in race relations when he died in 1909" (Cunningham, 1980, p. 23).

Cunningham resigned from Galloway in 1966, leaving not only Galloway but also the Mississippi Annual Conference of the Methodist Church. Instead, he

joined the North Alabama Conference, accepting a pastoral appointment to Central Methodist Church in Decatur, Alabama and later moving to Memphis, Tennessee.

In the forward to his book, Cunningham writes, “I did not create this crisis. It was already deeper and more ominous than I knew when I arrived. I am only the chronicler of the crisis as I knew it” (Cunningham, 1980, p. x).

Jeffrey A. Turner (2010), in his book *Sitting In and Speaking Out: Student Movements in the American South, 1960-1970*, examines the happening at Jackson’s Woolworth store, also detailing the origins of the southern and collegiate-related nonviolent protest. He notes that college students, both Black and White, needed fundamental basic ingredients in order to risk participation in protests. They needed protection and encouragement from campus administrators and college faculty. This was crucial, as was the need for the support of Black adults. Students, more than anything else, needed to believe that victory could be attained. While they accepted the bleakness of the odds against them, they required some chance at making a difference.

Turner also examines numerous *sit ins*, especially those occurring in the “Deep South.” He details, for example, the demonstrations that occurred in Orangeburg, South Carolina, at South Carolina and Claflin College. These closely related institutions are separated by a short distance. They are both historically Black schools, and both supported activist causes, especially those related to Civil Rights. Claflin, however, is a private institution supported by the United Methodist Church. Because of this independence from state control,

Claflin, as well as its administrators and faculty, were able to act without fear of governmental intrusion and meddling, at least to some extent. The leaders at South Carolina State College were not as fortunate.

In the spring of 1960, student-led demonstrations, though peaceful, became the norm in Orangeburg. As a result, NAACP officials requested that students from both schools rally in support of statewide public school desegregation. State College's president, Benner C. Turner, probably compelled by fear of termination, instructed students to avoid the controversy at all costs. Students were opposed to school desegregation throughout the state but were distressed about the schools in Orangeburg. Students resented Turner's directive and moved forward with plans for noteworthy protests. Fred H. Moore, student body president at State College, took direct opposition to Turner, leading boycotts of companies that discriminated against blacks in their hiring practices.

The boycott ended after six days, and the board immediately expelled Moore. Turner then expelled other student participants and fired sympathetic faculty members. In the end, both the selective-buying campaign and the student government against Turner failed.

Orangeburg's schools remained completely segregated, and Turner maintained his power. (Turner, 2010, p. 68)

This conflict exemplifies struggles that occurred throughout the South. The protest, usually led by college students, had varying levels of success. Private colleges, like Claflin and Tougaloo, were better able to participate, as they had fewer risks of state-sanctioned and administered repercussions. As public Black

schools were reliant upon funding allocations, their administrators were careful not to anger the governor, legislators, or even the general voting public. In doing so, they avoided punishment the next time the state funds were allocated to higher education. Private Black schools, like Tougaloo, were more often used as meeting places for Civil Rights organizational gatherings and get-togethers.

Michael A. Olivas (2005), in his article “Higher Education as ‘Place’: Location, Race, and College Attendance Policies,” examines the consequence of “place-ness” as it relates to Black colleges and universities, especially in Mississippi. Olivas notes that southern states have gone to great effort and thoroughness to offer inferior educations to their Black citizens. He writes: “States erected Black colleges, started Black law schools, paid for scholarships for Blacks to attend colleges or professional schools in other states, or required Blacks to sit in cloakrooms, roped-off areas or anterooms of White college classrooms” (Olivas, 2005, p. 170).

He also reports that Mississippi was especially ruthless in its treatment of Black students and so unsympathetic that the federal courts had to intervene. Regrettably, that assistance did not come to fruition until the late 1990s, when the Supreme Court ruled in the *United States v. Fordice*, 505 U.S. 717. (1992).

The Fordice ruling came after much deliberation, which followed years of attempting more evenhanded and impartial standards for Blacks’ potential admissions to White schools. Most of these attempts were mockeries and charades. For many years, Mississippi had operated in violation of the spirit of the law, implementing measures to keep Black students out of White schools.

The University of Mississippi, for example, applied ACT score to admission requirements in 1963, probably as a response to James Meredith's integration into Ole Miss classes the previous year. The University of Mississippi, like other state public schools, suddenly required ACT scores that were statistically higher than the median ACT scores for Black students in Mississippi.

After the Meredith court ordered the University of Mississippi to admit Meredith, several state institutions, including UM, began to require ACT test scores of 15, a number between the state's median Black ACT score of 7 and the median White score of 18. The Meredith decision also struck down UM's requirement of recommendation letters from UM alumni, which had virtually guaranteed that no Black could present a complete admissions portfolio. (Olivas, 2005, p. 171)

The court examined other ways in which state officials and school administrators in Mississippi were oppressing Black students. The court looked at program duplication, as well as approval policies for new programs. The state, under the directives of the courts, awarded Jackson State University program in allied health, engineering, as well as social work and urban planning. Alcorn State was allowed to offer a graduate level program in business administration. The state also devised a new method for distributing funds to universities, both Black and White school. Ultimately, Mississippi would do more of *the same*. The new funding methods, while seeming fair, were not. Mississippi had duped the courts again.

Private Black schools, like Tougaloo and Rust, were subject to the tricks of the state government that found ways to penalize and castigate schools for their involvement in the Civil Rights Movement. It would take creative leadership at these schools to overcome punishments that were so wounding to these institutions.

In spite of the ongoing deceptions of the state and the hardships of southern racism, Tougaloo has endured, providing excellence in academics, and a haven for those who need a place to organize against discrimination and intolerance or to be nurtured by a caring and supportive community of students, faculty, and administrators. In the following chapters, the researcher will detail Tougaloo's role in the Mississippi Civil Rights Movement.

## CHAPTER III

### UNYIELDING DEFENDERS – BEFORE BEITTEL

While there were many protestors, activists, and organizers who contributed to the Jackson Movement [1962 and 1963], six were not only involved in the fight for racial justice, but were also associated with Tougaloo College and its president, Dr. Adam Daniel Beittel. The six include Dr. Ernst Borinski, Joan Trumpauer, John R. Salter, Anne Moody, Reverend R. Edwin King, Jr., and Dr. Clarice Campbell. Of the six, one was African American [Moody], and five were White [Borinski, Trumpauer, Salter, King, and Campbell]. Four were faculty and/or staff at Tougaloo [Borinski, Salter King, and Campbell] and two were student at the school [Moody and Trumpauer]. Understanding their contributions to the Movement is difficult without first knowing where each came from, what prior events, especially those of childhood and youth, shaped them, and to grasp the conditions in which they were raised, and the people from whom they learned and were mentored. While not comprehensive biographies, this chapter provides some background for each in Jackson's struggle for desegregation and equality and their connection to Tougaloo.

#### Dr. Ernst Borinski

Ernst Borinski was born on November 26, 1901, in the Upper Silesia region of Germany that was near the border with Poland. Throughout his youth, Borinski's homeland had a very international population, with people coming from Russia, Poland, and Austria. Borinski, whose parents owned a "high quality department store," had ongoing opportunities to interact with people from



different places and cultures, especially those customers from Poland and Russia who frequented the family's store seeking higher quality products in Germany (Borinski, 1979). "His parents were merchants with German loyalties, without very strong feelings about it. His family was Jewish, but not orthodox, and Borinski was a secular Jew" (Edgcomb, 1993, p. 117). Borinski's parents were well educated and affluent, always seeking the best schooling for their son. Borinski spoke Polish, Russian, Jewish, German, and "when wanting to show off" would speak French, the acknowledged language of nobility (Borinski, 1979).

Borinski was 13 years old when World War I began. (Borinski, 1979). It was during this time that Borinski first saw the consequences of war. In spite of the death and destruction, Borinski did not believe that those on opposing sides of the battlefield hated one another.

After the war, boundaries were redrawn, and Borinski found himself an official citizen of Poland, though he was allowed to retain his German citizenship. Throughout his youth, Borinski frequently had to pretend that he was not German, while at other times pretending not to be Polish.

Following high school, Borinski studied the law and humanities at Lutheran University in Halle on the Saale River, near Wittenberg, Germany. (Borinski, 1979). It was there that Borinski studied Roman law in Latin, as well as taking numerous courses in logical reason. He notes that he was a "relatively good student" who "had no difficulty learning at any time" (Borinski, 1979).

After law school, Borinski took the position of general judge at Kelbra, a small factory town in the German mountain country where mother-of-pearl

buttons were made. Borinski, through his official position, discovered that many residents of the region were living in poverty, facing hardships and hunger. His concerns for the underprivileged at Kelbra were exemplified by his handling of a particular legal dilemma involving a group of peasants who stole some chickens from a neighbor. The burglars were arrested and charged with the theft, and would likely have faced a harsh punishment were it not for Borinski, who had sympathy for the group, knowing that they acted under the influence of starvation (Borinski, 1979).

I told myself they could have gotten a tremendous punishment, but I made up my mind not to go that way. In Germany there is a law that says if a minor crime is committed by a person who is very hungry, who may grab a piece of meat, they call it a “robbery for the mouth” and it is a misdemeanor. So I figured out, I considered this crew of thirty-seven people a “collective misdemeanor” (Borinski, oral history, 1979).

Borinski persuaded the prosecutor to go along with the irregular punishment by “taking him out for beer and flattery” (Edgcomb, 1993, p. 117).

Several years later, after establishing a private practice in Erfurt, Borinski sought a career teaching in higher education. Remembering that his mother’s family came from an academic background, Borinski believed that he had a “born talent to be a teacher” (Borinski, 1979). While in Erfurt, Borinski accepted a teaching position at The University of Jena and helped to create an adult education program for the young workers at the “famous Zeiss Optical Works.” The desire to delve into such work may have stemmed from his political ideology,

which leaned the way of a Social Democrat. He was active in the youth movement, while hoping to teach law, maybe at Jena or Leipzig. He was also interested in learning medicine. It was during this time of his intellectual awakening that the rise of Nazi Germany began, halting Borinski's plans to pursue additional study.

When the sovereignty of Nazi rule became reality, Borinski was effectively disbarred. Under the new regime, Jewish lawyers were not allowed to present cases before the court, their wages were cut in half, and they were required to hire "Aryan lawyers" to present their cases for them.

By 1936, the oppression of Nazi rule convinced Borinski to apply for a visa for travel to the United States. Borinski told the U. S. at the American Embassy at Leipzig, "He wanted a visitor's visa to the United States," explaining that he had no intention of returning to Germany and also explaining that he would seek American citizenship once he reached America. "I want to live in the United States, because there is no future for the Jews [in Germany]" (Borinski, 1979).

Nazis officials temporally seized the visa, though granted by the German government. They returned it to Borinski by March of 1938, just before he planned to make his escape from his homeland, and as Germany began its invasion of Austria. At the news of this incursion, Borinski realized that he could wait no longer. He was not surprised at Hitler's advances. He foresaw the Holocaust, observing the potential for the extermination of the Jews. He had trained in the law, understood logic, and knew "history very well," being well

versed in the Roman Catholic Church's practice of excommunication. "This is nothing else than the complete excommunication of the Jews. The last step in their extermination. I had this logical picture in my mind" (Borinski, 1979).

Always keeping a hidden supply of money, he was prepared when the moment for escape came. When it did, Borinski took a night train to Holland, and with 3,000 marks, bribed a conductor to allow him safe passage across the German border. "It was taking a fearful chance, but it worked" (Edgcomb, 1993, p. 118)

After resting for a few days in Holland, Borinski traveled to Southampton, England, where he boarded the *RMS Queen Mary* on a transatlantic passage. After a year of waiting in Cuba for his immigration number to come up, Borinski received permission from American officials to enter the United States. After this approval came, Borinski settled in Rochester, New York, where he held several positions. At one point, he worked in a clothing factory, joined a union, and found residence and friendship, while living with a Jewish family. Looking very much like a blue-collar worker, Borinski also worked at a Bausch and Lomb factory, astutely utilizing the knowledge he gleaned from his past labors at Zeiss Optical Company. All the while, he spoke with American workers, empathizing with the toils of daily work (Borinski, 1979).

With the American entry into World War II, following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Borinski was drafted into the United States Army, where he was assigned to combat duty in North Africa, and later worked as a translator at Fort Dix, New Jersey. He was discharged in 1945, left Fort Dix, and returned to

Rochester, New York, to see friends for a final time, as he “got ready to enter academic life again” (Borinski, 1980).

After a brief visit with his *pseudo family* in Rochester, Borinski began the Master of Arts in Sociology program at the University of Chicago. While in Chicago, Borinski lived in an *international house*, which he described as “a community of its own” (Borinski, 1980). Several of those that he befriended were former graduates of Fisk University in Nashville, which was founded by the AMA. “They asked if he might be interested in going into Black education. When he responded affirmatively, they told him about AMA schools throughout the South. As a result, Borinski contacted the AMA” (Lowe, 2008, p. 32).

In 1947, after an interview in New York City with representatives of the AMA, Borinski accepted a teaching position at Tougaloo College. The Association’s officials were not concerned about Borinski’s “religious orientation” but stressed that Borinski, like all members of the Tougaloo faculty, was expected to “build bridges to the white community.” This, according to Borinski, was so vital to the association that their officers “repeated this at least ten times” (Borinski, 1979).

Borinski, caught off guard by this mandate, was not sure how to build such bridges, yet he was determined. His first contact with the White community of Jackson came after Borinski’s arrival at Tougaloo.

At one of the earliest meetings of Borinski’s first class, Borinski told his students that he believed “that segregation was so ridiculous that it would break down soon, maybe even that night.” To test his theory, he took the entire class

for ice cream at a parlor that was known to *serve Whites only*. At first, the waitress refused to serve the “colored students [sic].” After Borinski questioned her snubbing of the group, she capitulated saying, “I will serve them quickly, and then they must leave.” This, according to Borinski, was the “first breakdown” in segregation in Jackson. Others have since noted it as the “first unacknowledged Mississippi sit in” (Borinski, 1980). Borinski, in a quote given to the college’s newspaper, the *Tougazette*, stated the need to challenge the social tradition of segregation. “Upon us rests the full responsibility for rejecting accommodation to the traditional pattern of segregation and humiliation” (as cited in Lowe, 2008, p. 34).

Shortly after Borinski’s arrival at Tougaloo, there were those within the White community of Jackson who scowled at the mention of Borinski’s name, who, because of his multicultural experiences, was considered a *communist*. These suspicions did not abate with time. “Borinski was seen as an outsider who was neither Black nor White in a state where non-Mississippians were viewed with suspicion and where race was constructed in ridged binary ways” (Lowe, 2008, p. 27).

Those who were more enlightened and receptive to change were captivated by Borinski’s international voyages, as well as his cosmopolitan ways. He was especially entrancing to students who seldom traveled.

Borinski also created a *social science laboratory* for the elucidation of his students. The laboratory, which Borinski opened in 1948, provided Borinski’s students with a place to “apply their learning experiences to acute social

problems of their daily life (Borinski, 1948, p. 277). The lab was part of Borinski's "Center for Progressive and Modern Education of Tougaloo College, the State of Mississippi, and the Nation" ("Social Science Group Announces Plans," 1948).

Located in a spacious basement, the laboratory served as a repository for pamphlets, books, and periodicals on the subject of social sciences. "The Lab's library gave many Tougaloo students their first exposure to a wide range of literature with varying political views, such as the *New York Times* and *Christian Science Monitor*, as well as a variety of works by African American and African authors" ("Borinski Endowed Chair Proposal Draft Students," Office of Institutional Advancement). While not allowed to take material with them, students were provided ample time to work in the lab, which was open "from morning until midnight." Space was allocated for group study sessions and reading corners. The lab, which was 45 feet long and 15 feet wide, was intentionally unadorned so that areas could be best utilized for storing material. Borinski (1948) describes the laboratory:

The walls are covered with plain white wooden planks that serve almost entirely as one huge bulletin board. Here, faculty, staff, and students are free to post any kind of written or printed material, which is regarded as significant for the study program in the social sciences. (Borinski, 1948, p. 276)

Reading material relating to local social services agencies was dispersed around the laboratory, and served as reminders to students who were encouraged to volunteer their time to such agencies. Borinski believed that community outreach

provided pupils with occasions for applying information gleaned in the classroom. By making personal contacts, students acquired confidence in making phone calls and in interacting with others. Borinski soon saw drastic improvements in the social skills of his students.

The students realize the disadvantage of being deficient in expressing themselves intelligently and clearly in the English language. They seize with eagerness the opportunities for oral reports and panel discussions that are specifically designed for acquiring the very art of self-expression needed by the students. (Borinski, 1948, p. 280)

Tougaloo's American government students also utilized the laboratory. For their benefit, Borinski designated an area for displaying pamphlets from state, federal, and local governments. The extensive collection included material from each of the 48 states [Alaska and Hawaii had not yet received statehood] so that students might "participate in political processes, controversies, and issues on the state and federal level by channeling individual and groups opinions to the various governmental agencies" (Borinski, 1948, p. 278).

Students from the school's political science department were also allocated a work area in the laboratory. They, along with the four faculty members who oversaw the laboratory, did more than study national and international conflicts. After careful review, reflection, and dissemination of findings, students proposed solutions to racial and political conflicts. Sometimes through governmental channels, Borinski's students provided recommendations to the United Nations about problems concerning the Palestinian conflict, as well



as giving input regarding the distribution of funds through the Marshall Plan, which provided monetary aid to European governments that were devastated during World War II.

The *Tougazette*, in its June 1948 edition, reported that the Social Science lab was operational and that much of the students' efforts there related to international affairs and its ties to the social sciences.

Areas of learning in Social Sciences are taking on new meanings.

International Relations in class terms mean discussing problems of International Policy, International Law, and International Diplomacy. In the laboratory terms, it means the real establishing and cultivating of International Relations. It means to explore and use the channels where the student, as a citizen and competent judge on international affairs, can convey his viewpoint to the agencies that make our international policy.

("Social Science Lab Operating," 1948, p. 1)

Borinski understood that comprehending the complexities of foreign affairs might be difficult for some of his students. He was aware of the educational deficiencies that were common among Tougaloo students, especially those pupils lacking in the *three R's*. To address such weaknesses, Borinski established a *Diagnosis Center* as part of the laboratory so that a student's weakness could be identified and that corrective measures, specific to that student's need, could be applied.

In November of 1955, Borinski and his sociology majors formed the Sociological Student Research Group, which sought to better understand, and

possibly solve, some of the sociological tribulations of college life. The group complemented studies already underway in the lab.

Borinski's prominence extended beyond the gates of Tougaloo. Pupils from Millsaps College were fervent to learn from him, too. "White students came to Tougaloo ostensibly to test their German against Dr. Borinski's fluency" (Campbell & Rogers, 1979, p. 172). Borinski took advantage of this, seeing an opportunity for communications and interactions between the races, by inviting Millsap students to attend *evening talks*, which began in 1952 and were originally held every three or four weeks and were soon called Borinski's "Social Science Forums." Borinski extended cordial biddings to anyone he believed opened minded enough to benefit from the gatherings (Borinski, 1979).

By 1954, with the help of a grant from the Field Foundation, Borinski's forums grew in popularity, with more and more people attending the forums that Borinski orchestrated. "In preparation for most Forums, Borinski organized seminars to provide background information on the topic of the upcoming lecture. He also sent out notices to people in his local network" (Lowe, 2008, p. 38).

The formal presentation was followed by an information discussion period, which provided more occasions for interracial conversations and exchanges of ideas. While the topics of the forums varied, many of them related to international affairs, an area that was of particular interest to Borinski. On April 1, 1959, the Social Science forum featured Rabbi Perry E. Nussbaum, leader of the Jackson Jewish Congregation. The topic, which was "The State of Israel," was especially timely in the postwar conflicts between the Palestinians and the Israelis.

Nussbaum explained the history of Israel and described the country as “the outpost of Western influence in the Middle East” (“Social Science Forum,” 1959, p. 1).

Later that year, another forum addressed concerns of global importance. On December 2, the featured speaker was David Bowen, professor of Political Science at Millsaps College. His discussion, titled “Berlin, the Satellites, and Co-Existence” provided students with “many insights on the crisis in Europe” (“Forum Planned,” 1959, p. 2).

Borinski’s forums continued, as did the work of students in the laboratory. Through information that students gleaned from the guest speakers at the forums, and from the collection of data and projects in the laboratory, students developed a sense of self-worth and became more confident in their ability to positively influence change. Borinski’s forums were especially effective at empowering students to act. “It provided a place for students, blacks and whites, to come together as equals. It was a place where you could meet students of other races and talk with them” (J. Trumpauer, personal communication, March 14, 2012).

Borinski’s impact was extremely important during the Jackson Movement and the four years of Beittel’s administration.

#### Joan Trumpauer

Joan Harris Nelson, even as a young child growing up in the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area of Northern Virginia [Arlington], held an unyielding conception of what America should be. Even with a simplistic grasp of racial

inequality, she believed that Blacks were not treated well. “She said she first remembered being in sympathy with Negroes [sic] when she was a little girl. “ It was embarrassing to mother, but I thought we ought to treat negroes [sic] nice since we brought them over from Africa” (Armstrong, 2011, p. 125).

Her father, Ealton “Bud” Nelson, was an official of the U. S. State Department and an integrationist. He shared his daughter’s feelings regarding racial justice, while her mother, Merle Chandler Nelson, a native of Georgia, supported segregation. Her mother, she writes, “was a proud member of a traditional southern family that owned more than a hundred slaves” (J. Trumpauer, 1961). “My mother’s side of the family was your stereotypical Georgia red-neck [sic], Pentecostals. I think that exposed me to a lot of the Deep South, hearing them express their attitudes and religious fervor” (as cited in Armstrong, 2011, p. 125).

While her family heritage is “complicated,” and her feelings against the oppression of African Americans were strong, Nelson held a certain pride in her own “southern heritage” (J. Trumpauer, personal communication, March 14, 2012).

I am southern, as southern as the red clay of Georgia, as southern as Lee’s Mansion overlooking the Potomac. I am white, and I am at peace with it all, I am at peace with having a Georgia family history that reaches back before the War Between the States, before the Trail of Tears, before the Revolution, to a time when we simply “were.” (J. Trumpauer, 1961)

Nelson believed that she, as a Southerner, had a responsibility to help “repair a broken South,” a region being destroyed by the racism of segregation (J. Trumpauer, personal communication, March 14, 2012).

Her parents provided Nelson with the luxuries of a moderately affluent life. They saw to her educational needs, believing that a good schooling would be advantageous for their daughter. In spite of the comforts of Nelson’s youth, she continued to ponder the injustices that minorities faced, especially African Americans. “Joan has brooded over the nation’s No. 1 domestic problem since childhood when she often complained at the family dinner table that Negroes [sic] were being mistreated” (Poinsett, 1963, p. 25). She realized when she was only 13 years old, following the “U.S. Supreme Court’s school desegregation edict [Brown v. Board of Education, 1954],” that something was “amiss in the South’s treatment of blacks” (J. Trumpauer, personal communication, March 14, 2012). She was especially shaken by the 1957 crisis at Central High School in Little Rock, in which an orchestrated effort to integrate the all-White Arkansas school turned violent. Nelson followed these events on the network evening news and in local newspapers.

The newspapers and TV reports were full of images of soldiers with bayoneted rifles protecting the nine students. Nelson was shocked. “I remember being surprised that things could turn that ugly,” she said. “To see that real raw ugliness that came out and to see troops at school. I mean, you thought of troops marching around in the oppressive societies

of Eastern Europe – not in the United States, which we considered the height of civilization” (as cited in O’Brien, 2013, p. 34).

After high school, Nelson attended Duke University in Durham, North Carolina. While at Duke, now even more strongly opposed to segregation, Nelson attended a meeting with students from North Carolina College who had been involved in the February 1, 1960, sit in at Greensboro, North Carolina. The gathering, which had been arranged by Duke’s Presbyterian chaplain, allowed the guests a forum to explain the strategy of sit-ins, as well as its “philosophical and religious underpinnings” (as cited in Armstrong, 2011, p. 125). The meeting, which was kept “pretty quiet,” concluded with Nelson being invited to participate in one of the group’s upcoming sit-ins. Nelson, still remembering the teachings of church and the religious beliefs of her soul, accepted the invitation. “My involvement came about from my religious conviction and the contradiction between life in America and with what was being taught in Sunday School” (as cited in Armstrong, 2011, p. 125). Her role in the sit-in was vital to the potential success of the protest, and the NAACP acknowledged her contribution.

Nelson was arrested several times for her challenges to Southern traditions and mores. “As a first year Duke University student, anxious to integrate the theory and practice of democracy, Joan joined pickets protesting segregation at local eating places and helped collect money and clothing for the disenfranchised” (Poinsett, 1963, p. 23).

After her first year at Duke, school officials, repulsed at the negative publicity that the school was garnering, asked that she not return. “Duke and I

became incompatible over this, and I dropped out” (as cited in Armstrong, 2011, p. 125). Believing that she would eventually find a school in the South where she could freely converse with and befriend Blacks, Nelson returned to Northern Virginia. Once home Nelson rekindled a relationship with a high school boyfriend, a young man of Native American descent. They promptly eloped, but the marriage was short lived, ending after three months. The union was advantageous to Nelson, as it provided her a new last name [Trumpower]. With a last name now different than that of her family’s, she believed that she was protecting her parents from the adverse repercussions that might be inflicted upon them as punishment for their daughter’s civil rights activities in North Carolina. To protect her “now ex-husband” and his family, *Trumpower* slightly altered the spelling of her last name. “Thus, she became Joan Trumpauer, the name by which most of her movement friends would come to know her” (O’Brien, 2013, p. 36).

It was under this name that she began working with the Nonviolent Action Group [NAG] from Howard University, who humorously called themselves “NAGgers [sic].” It was through this group that Trumpauer met Hank Thomas, a 19-year-old African American from St. Augustine, Florida, who attended the first conference of SNCC earlier that year, spent the earliest years of his life picking cotton in the Georgian fields and who “had the benefit of years of firsthand experiences in the Jim Crow South” (Arsenault, 2006, p. 103).

Hank Thomas was going on the Freedom Rides, and we thought this was a big joke and gave the guy a hard time, thinking he was off on this cushy

all-expense paid vacation because exams were over, but we quit laughing when the bus was attacked and burned in Anniston. (as cited in Armstrong, 2011, p. 125)

Encouraged by the example of Thomas, Trumpauer decided to spend the summer of 1961 in Jackson, Mississippi, as a Freedom Rider. It was here that she first learned of Tougaloo College.

#### John R. Salter

John R. Salter, though born in the Eastern United States, lived most of his early life in Flagstaff, Arizona, a community that Salter describes as “a place of much anti-Indian prejudice and discrimination, particularly regarding the Navajo Indians.” “Navajo Indians particularly were singled out for very discriminatory treatment, forced to chain gangs to fix streets and to shovel snow” (Salter, 2005). This abuse was particularly cruel to Salter, whose father was a “full-blooded, Micmac and Penobscot from Maine and Quebec” (Salter, 1981). “But there were also large numbers of Chicanos, Mexicans, American people who were not well-treated” (Salter, 1981). Salter remembers that, at the time of his childhood, many restaurants would not serve Blacks or Native Americans. From youthful experiences, he remembers the signs that read “No Indians or dogs allowed” (Salter, 1981).

He also recollects the murder of two Black people who were shot by a White man. Salter notes that this was one of numerous cases of “white violence against non-white people” during his childhood days in Arizona. This particular murder occurred just as Salter was starting high school. In describing the actions



of the shooter and the repercussions of brutality, Salter says, “It seemed to be the ultimate manifestation of a deep-seated prejudice” (Salter, 1981).

A white man named Oliver Wood, who’d been on a drunk one Saturday night, was going home and was driven out of his house by his wife, who was enraged at his drinking, and instead of going after her, he went down on the South side and shot down a Negro minister and his deacon in cold blood. Killed them. (Salter, 2005).

Salter remembers that Wood was never even taken into police custody.

At the same time, unrest, primarily related to organized labor, plagued Flagstaff. Attempts to unionize were launched by the miners of the copper companies, workers that Salter describes as part of the *copper collar*, as well as farm hands from the area lettuce and cotton fields (Salter, 1981).

Throughout that climate of social and racial unrest, parents who commiserated with their son’s concerns guided Salter. In their youths, they participated in various causes of social justice. While Salter’s parents had different religious affiliations, he a Roman Catholic and she an Episcopalian, they shared common beliefs regarding the universal need of social justice. Salter’s father was a groundbreaker for the rights of Native Americans. He was the first Native American faculty member at Northern Arizona University, when hired as the school’s Chairman of the Arts Department. As a young boy, Salter’s father, had been adopted by William McIntire Salter, who founded the Ethical Cultural Society in the United States, was a leader in the Indian Rights Association, and was “one of sixty of so—although a White man—to issue the call to organization

of the NAACP in 1909” (Salter, 1981). Both parents, Salter notes, were “active in matters of social concern” (Salter, 1981).

Salter’s own advocacy began around 1955, after he completed high school and met his obligations of service to the United States Army. At Arizona State University, Salter worked with student rights organizations, seeking better-quality food at the university’s cafeterias, as well as demanding more work-study positions for financially strapped students. More importantly, Salter led protests to end obligatory service in the Reserve Officer Training Corps [ROTC]. While Salter’s group failed in these efforts, Salter learned from the episode, calling this time of student rights protests as “training ground for his arrival in Mississippi” (Salter, 1981). Of his general passion for holistic human rights, Salter states:

People need a decent wage, enough to eat, health care, the right to a decent home. People also need to be free. Neither one of those is worth a damn without the other; free to think and say their thoughts, free to organize, free to read what they want to read, to write what they want to write. (Salter, 1981)

Salter’s claims that he was influenced in the late 1950s by the *Wobblies* [Industrial Workers of the World], which, according to Salter, developed in the western frontier around the turn of the century, and was “brutally repressed by the federal government.” The group, in its early days, had a large number of western miners within its membership. Salter was enthused by their strides in expanding workplace democracy, as well as their endeavors in racial and ethnic justice. Salter later structured much of the *Jackson Movement* in his

remembrances of the *Wobbly Shop* organization. “I was much influenced by some of those old timers that I met in Arizona and New Mexico, and also to some extent in Utah and the State of Washington” (J. R. Salter, oral history, January 6, 1981).

### Anne Moody

Anne Moody’s earliest memories are of the privation her family faced as they scraped by on the wages of her father and mother, who both worked in the cotton fields of “Mr. Carter’s plantation,” which was located near Centreville, a community in the southwest corner of the state of Mississippi. Her parents, like the other “Negroes [sic]” on the farm, suffered under the most adverse working conditions. Of the hardships of her childhood, Moody writes:

Since we only had one big room and a kitchen, we all slept in the same room. It was like three rooms in one. Mama slept in one corner and I had my little bed in another corner next to one of the big wooden windows. Around the fireplace, a rocking chair and a couple of straight chairs formed a sitting area. This big room had plain, dull-colored wallpaper tacked loosely to the walls with large thumbtacks. Under each tack was a piece of cardboard, which had been taken from shoeboxes and cut into little squares to hold the paper and keep the tacks from tearing through. (Moody, 1968, p. 1)

In addition to recounting the tribulations that faced her and her family, Moody details incidences of oppression that subjugated Black neighbors. One of the most disquieting stories was the 1956 murder of a Black family from

Centerville. According to Moody, the Taplin family died in a house fire that, Moody alleges was set by White supremacists who mistakenly thought that a member of the Taplin family had dated a White woman (Newton, 2010, p. 214)

We sat in the car for about an hour, silently looking at this debris and the ashes that covered the nine charcoal-burned bodies. I shall never forget the expressions on the faces of the Negroes. There was almost unanimous hopelessness in them. (Moody, 1968, p. 143)

While Moody bore much as a Black child of the Deep South, nothing was more agonizing than the death of Emmett Till, a tragedy that occurred a week before Moody began high school. Moody had known of other racially motivated deaths, though her parents and other Black adults spoke of such calamities in discreet and careful voices. “It was hush-hush in the house. Adults talked about it when children were not around. They were discussing something that was forbidden to you” (Moody, 1985). Yet, hearing accounts of such had ultimately become a part of her *coming of age*. Till’s death was different, maybe because Till and Moody, as Moody states, “were exactly the same age” (Moody, oral history, 1985). Moody claims that before Till’s execution, the stories of other brutal deaths “were not real to me.” After learning of the young boy’s death, “these things became real to me” (Moody, 1985). His death was a pronounced awakening for Moody. “I became aware of the fact that it happens to not only adult Black men but to children. It was the injustice of it happening to such a young 15 year old [Till was actually 14 years old at the time of his death]” (Moody, 1985).

From 1955 to 1959, Moody, unlike many Blacks in the state, attended high school where she excelled in basketball. In the spring of 1959, Moody graduated from a newly consolidated all-Black high school in Wilkinson County, Mississippi. Even after the Brown decision in 1954, Mississippi's high schools were segregated. With few available options for a college education, Moody decided to attend all-Black Natchez Junior College, a school of Baptist affiliation located in Natchez, Mississippi. Moody was offered a scholarship to play basketball at Natchez, which provided her tuition, as well as room and board. Moody used basketball as a means to "forget my troubles" (Moody, 1968, p. 228). Nevertheless, by 1960, Moody was "tired of playing basketball," but hoped the game would again provide an avenue of escape from hard times that always seemed close at hand (Moody, 1985).

A year later, Moody began standing up to unfairness. Without leaving the campus at Natchez, Moody discovered reason for dissent. The school's leadership, who viewed Moody as an agitator and instigator of conflict, did not embrace her rebellion (Moody, 1985).

One of her first clashes at Natchez pitted Moody against her basketball coach, "Miss Adams," the school's dean, as well as the college president, all three of whom were White. The problems began when Adams assigned Moody to "wash windows in the library," which Adams described as "punishment" for Moody missing basketball practice. Moody claimed that she was "feverish and stayed in bed all day" (Moody, 1968, p. 240). Moody, refusing to accept

punishment, while claiming that the charge was false and that the penalty was therefore unfair, pled her case to the school's president.

Even as a young junior college student, Moody was not afraid to challenge authority. She felt the pains of injustice and frequently voiced that disenchantment to anyone who would listen, even when risking her own betterment, as she did, chancing expulsion at Natchez, when she instigated a boycott of the campus cafeteria.

Moody recalls those efforts in leading a peaceful protest of the cafeteria at Natchez, after maggots were discovered in the food. The episode would become an exercise for the larger challenges that Moody would face in the Jackson Movement. Of the lunchroom boycott, Moody writes:

We were just outside the dining room door and a couple of the guys stormed back inside, hollering, "Boycott! Boycott!" One of them started yelling, "Maggots in the grits, maggots in the grits! We ain't gonna eat this cooked up shit!" Then students began to walk out, leaving their plates on the tables right where they were. (Usually we were required to empty our own trays.) Then we all gathered in front of the dorm. Some of the students were arguing. I could tell that a lot of them weren't too hot on boycotting. (Moody, 1968, p. 235)

Within a few days, Moody and the school's president had reached a diplomatic settlement. Ultimately, both sides compromised. The school agreed to serve better quality food, while insisting that the food services staff dress more professionally. Administrators even mandated that the staff wear hairnets while

preparing food in the cafeteria. The students, on their part, amiably returned to the cafeteria, stopped complaining, and ended their demands that the food services director be fired. These lessons in the art of compromise benefitted Moody at Tougaloo and beyond.

#### Reverend R. Edwin King, Jr.

R. Edwin King was born and raised in Vicksburg, Mississippi, during the 1940s and early 1950s. His parents, both White, were kind and protective of Black neighbors, helping them as much as was socially acceptable. According to King, his parents “looked down on whites who didn’t have that kind of paternalistic attitude” and were “whatever good Mississippians were supposed to be” (King, 1980). Though his mother and father both advocated segregation, they consistently instructed King to “be nice to colored [sic].” (King, 1980). “King’s parents taught the Vicksburg native to be fair, to have civic responsibility, to not use the N-word. In Methodist Sunday School, he pondered Ghandi’s work in India as well as problems of race in the United States” (Hanson, 2003, p. 48).

King’s father was born in Oklahoma when it was still Indian territory, graduated from Louisiana State University in the late 1920s, and worked for the United States Corp of Engineers, assisting the Mississippi River Commission with flood control. Many federal employees living in Vicksburg, including King’s father, came to Mississippi from “someplace else.” Because of this outside influence, King speculates that Vicksburg “while still ‘Old South,’ may have been a little more open than other parts of the state” especially when it came to racial equality (King, 1980).

King's maternal relatives, primarily from Madison and Warren counties, were longtime Mississippians, some living in the region as early as the first days of Mississippi's statehood. Many of them were influential and were actively involved in local politics, often serving as tax collectors, sheriffs, and council members. His maternal grandfather had once served as chairperson of the Board of Education of Warren County (King, 1980).

During his youth, King watched Mississippi become more radicalized on the issue of race relations, as rumors of upcoming "force desegregation" intensified. King, never troubled by such anxiety, was accustomed to interacting with Blacks, primarily through statewide conferences of the Methodist Youth Fellowship, which included members from both Black and White congregations. King, greatly influenced by his religion, was proud of his ties to the Methodist Church, appreciating its "connections beyond Mississippi." He dreamed of being ordained into the denomination's ministry (King, 1980).

During the Christmas vacation of King's senior year [1953], an outbreak of tornados swept across the state, leaving a wide path of death and destruction. Vicksburg was especially hard hit, including some of the town's poorer neighbors. "More than forty residents of the town were trapped under collapsing structures and killed, including several of King's acquaintances." King, volunteering for the American Red Cross, as well as assisting in the relief efforts of the Methodist Church, "was brought face to face with human suffering and human mortality unlike any he had ever encountered before" (Marsh, 2008, p. 118). The experience deepened King's resolve to seek ordination in the Methodist Church.



Since early youth, King venerated the Methodist Church, believing their denominational views of social justice could potentially stimulate change in race relations throughout Mississippi, although the Mississippi Annual Conference of the Methodist Church strayed from denomination's positions on justice and equality. The General Conference of the Methodist Church had adopted statements and policies [Methodist Book of Discipline] that welcomed African Americans to Methodist places of worship, although the congregations throughout the Deep South often ignored those directives. In 1963, years after King made his decision to seek ordination in the Methodist Church, the denomination's Council of Bishops issued a statement regarding segregation that represented the position that the denomination had held for several years. "The Methodist Church must build and demonstrate within its own organization and program a fellowship without racial barriers" (Richey, Rowe, & Schmidt, 2010, n.p.). According to Richey, Rowe, and Schmidt (2010), the Methodist Church began shifting toward integrated worship place soon after the Brown decision in 1954 (n.p.)

King was especially encouraged by the Black women of the Methodist Church, as they confronted racial oppression with vivaciousness and tenacity.

The leadership in the black civil rights movement was disproportionately Methodist, certainly was heavily protestant, and that is obvious. In most of the communities that I know about, the key people who were ready first were black Methodist women. And the Methodist church had a tradition in this country of social concerns, but a deeper tradition that a born again life

was a life of citizenship as well as a life of salvation. (E. King, address at Bonhoeffer House of Charlottesville, Virginia, February 27, 2002)

After graduating from Vicksburg's Carr Central High School in 1954, King enrolled at Millsaps College, *the state's Methodist school*, widely recognized for academic excellence. Millsaps, according to King, "had many progressive leaders," as well a faculty that "believed deeply in academic freedom" (King, 1980). In its enlightened and tolerant spirit, the school hosted numerous interracial meetings of the Intercollegiate Fellowship. Students from Tougaloo, Alcorn, Jackson State, Mississippi State, and the University of Mississippi attended. These gatherings, which began in the early 1930s, and were usually sponsored by the Young Men's Christian Association, historically drew little public attention. While at Millsaps, King, served as the fellowship's secretary, while one of Tougaloo's professors, C. B. Lawyer, was the group's president. Both were encouraged by Ernst Borinski, who was the driving force of the alliance (Marsh, 2008, p.130). Borinski, without intending to do so, may have caused the group's downfall, when it was learned that Borinski was tutoring a small interracial gathering of students in the Russian language, meeting often at Millsap's Wilson Library. The reports of this outraged white Jacksonians. "Pressure was immediately put on administrators at participating schools to disband the fellowship" (Marsh, 2008, p. 120). King, when learning of the group's demise, lamented the increasing influence of the White Citizens' Council. "I saw the ax come down with oppression and censorship" (King, 1980).

King describes his first year at Millsaps “as a confusing time,” noting that “people were asking questions about race issues,” and were beginning to worry about the future of traditional southern mores. (King, 1980). It was during these days, as local White Jacksonians were becoming concerned about Millsaps hosting interracial assemblies, that the meetings were moved to Tougaloo. “It became wisest to move the meeting from Millsaps to Tougaloo” (King, 1980).

To better understand the psyche of segregationists, King and other likeminded college classmates began traveling all over the state, attending meetings of the White Citizens’ Council, while secretly collecting data for the sociology department at Millsaps. “We made notes on what we saw...who joined and who didn’t.” King, wanting to learn as much as possible, rarely missed the organization’s “important meetings.” “I went to 90% of the meetings held by the Citizens’ Council between 1954 and 1958” (King, 1980). King notes that he and the others collected the information “under the guidance of intelligent teachers who never tried to impose ideas, but had a grasp that students should be aware of things.” Within four years, many of these same teachers, according to King, were “terrorized and terrified,” forced to leave the state, and left believing that Mississippi had finally become “a fascist state” (King, 1980).

After completing his degree in English literature in May of 1958, King entered the theological seminary at Boston University, a Methodist affiliated school. The decision to attend Boston University, while seeming to be a natural step for King, alarmed his parents, as well as leaders within the Mississippi Annual Conference of the Methodist Church. “Boston University was the alma

mater of Martin Luther King, Jr., and was widely known as a hotbed of social gospel teaching and radical political activism” (Marsh, 2008, p. 121).

During his first year of graduate school, King explored “his own relationship to pacifism,” while “trying to love people in the world.” King discovered that being a “Christian pacifist” demanded that “one must do more than simply be kind and do good.” Boston University was the ideal place for such an awakening, since it “had always been involved in issues of social justice,” and as it provided students with exposure to groups like the Fellowship of Reconciliation, which King describes as “one of the oldest interdenominational pacifists group in the country” (King, 1980).

While in seminary, King met other southern students who wanted to eventually return to their southern roots, hoping to someday minister in southern churches. “I met people in seminary who were from the South. They felt that they would not be able to return to the Deep South after seminary, but that they could maybe go to North Carolina” (King, 1980).

In 1958, during the Christmas vacation, King and five of his classmates traveled to Americus, Georgia, where they visited Koinonia Farm, which was founded by in 1942, later becoming the birthplace of Habitat for Humanity. King described Koinonia as “an interracial Southern Baptist Christian Community,” in an area that King called “the worst place for race relations in the entire South, adding that “outside of Birmingham, there were more church burnings there [around Americus and Plains, Georgia] than anyplace else.” The founders of Koinonia Farm, Clarence & Florence Jordan, were different from their neighbors,

and King discovered them to be “Christians who believed in loving your neighbors, but were not Quakers, and yet down to Earth Christians who spent their time planting pecans” (King, 1980). In simply visiting Koinonia, King became a “member” of the Farm’s community. Like King, many of the first visitors were students who were seeking a community of social justice and peace. According to K'Meyer (2000), “The consensus among the early participants was that they lived together to accomplish the outreach, which was to minister to African Americans” (K'Meyer, 2000, p. 65).

After their stay at Koinonia Farm, the group traveled to Montgomery, Alabama, where King first met Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who was pastoring at Montgomery’s Dexter Avenue Baptist Church. Dr. King advised the group to return to the South after graduation, reminding them of the need for ministers in the southern churches. All the while, King was realizing the “coming back into the South as a minister was not going to be easy” (King, 1980). King made several trips to Mississippi during his studies at Boston.

While at Boston, to the dismay of his parents, and to the chagrin of Mississippi’s leadership in the Methodist Church, King worked with several civil rights organizations, including the Southern Christian Leadership Committee [SCLC]. In March of 1960, King, at the request of the SCLS, traveled again to Montgomery, Alabama. On this trip, King hoped to make progressive inroads in a community that was widely recognized for racial intolerance and bigotry. Knowing of that he was operating in “an area of enormous violence,” King, while “trying to preserve his clerical status with the Methodist Church,” quietly organized small

meetings between Black and White college students, as well as Black and White clergy, hoping to open avenues of conversation and dialogue. On March 30, King, along with other SCLC leaders, including local minister, Ralph Abernathy, was arrested at a downtown restaurant, when local police thought the interracial meeting was a sit in.

Local authorities, knowing that King was theological student from Boston University, accused King of being an *outside agitator* and instigator of the gathering. “They [Montgomery police] discovered they had somebody from Boston so they accused me of helping organize this interracial meeting. They had not even raided that kind of a place during the Montgomery bus boycott” (E. King, address at Bonhoeffer House of Charlottesville, Virginia, February 27, 2002).

A broadly disseminated *Associated Press* story detailed King’s arrest. The story, as well as the accompanying photograph of King working on a prison road gang, further humiliated King’s parents, who, while worrying about their son’s safety, also faced ongoing provocations by White Mississippians. A second photo of King on the day of his arrest further aggravated Mississippi’s segregations. The arrest made King “a hero in Boston, and a villain in Jackson” (King, 1980).

Also in 1960, following several years of harassment by the White Citizens’ Council, King’s parents left Mississippi, believing that they could no longer endure the threats and mistreatment. “With the help from the Sovereignty Commission, the Citizens’ Council put direct pressure on the King family through

carefully placed innuendos and hints” (Marsh, 2008, p. 124). By the time that his parents left the state, “the police state atmosphere was there” (King, 1980).

King also participated in the preparations for the Freedom Rides, which began later that year. In doing so, King, along with a Black minister, took an “experimental freedom ride,” in which the two men traveled on public carrier between Atlanta, Birmingham, and Montgomery, quietly challenging segregation in the bus station waiting rooms and coffee shops.” The trip, occurring “three days before the first buses left Washington,” proved uneventful but demonstrated to King that “the average white southerner is not a blood thirsty monster who atomically kills” (E. King, oral history, November 20, 1980).

King returned to Mississippi in the summer 1961, just in time to visit Freedom Riders who had been arrested and sentenced to incarceration at Mississippi’s Parchman Prison. Later that summer, the Mississippi Annual Conference of the Methodist Church elected to allow King ordination but refused his “voting membership” in the conference. This unorthodox provision made King, according to his knowledge of the Methodist Church and its history, the only person to whom such a stipulation of ordination was ever given. In all other cases, those ordained in the Methodist Church automatically become fully voting members to an annual conference.

In the fall of 1961, King, with no prospect of a church appointment in Mississippi, accepted a four—church circuit in Montana. King, now with his newlywed wife, Jeanette, traveled across a parish that, according to King, “was bigger than the states of Rhode Island and Delaware” (King, 1980). King, while

enjoying his ministry in Montana, as well as the friendships he formed with ranchers and farmers, yearned for Mississippi, especially anxious to rejoin the struggle for racial justice in the Deep South. With no hopes of church appointment in his home state, and after a brief tenure on the rural circuit of Montana, King reentered Boston University, planning to earn a second master's degree.

By the fall of 1962, King and Jeanette were looking for opportunities to return to the South. The *Ole Miss crisis* intensified their feelings, especially for King, who “wanted to be with white Mississippians during the ordeal” (King, 1980). In spite of the way that many Mississippians had treated King over the years, he viewed Mississippi as “home” and its people as “family” (King, personal communication, March 6, 2012). The events of the past several years, particularly King's arrest in Montgomery, had affected them both King and his wife, causing them to anticipate the worst on the campus at The University of Mississippi. “I knew that it was going to take the U.S. Army to get him [James Howard Meredith] in. We went to bed that night [September 30, 1962] knowing that people would be killed at Ole Miss” (King, 1980).

King, now looking for avenues for a return to Mississippi, sought the guidance of Borinski, whom King identifies as “his spiritual father and his intellectual father.” Borinski informed King of the recent resignation of Tougaloo's chaplain, John Mangrum, and encouraged King to apply for the position. Tougaloo's president, Dr. Adam Daniel Beittel, valuing Borinski's recommendation, employed King as campus chaplain and dean of students. King



began his tenure with Tougaloo in January of 1963 (King, personal communication, March 5, 2012).

Dr. Clarice Campbell

Clarice Thompson Campbell was born in 1907 in Wasco, California, a small community that was being organized at the time of Campbell's birth. Campbell's father, Milton Thompson, had recently been hired by the township to build the community's public water system, while his wife, Grace Wright Thompson saw to the needs of Campbell and her two siblings. The young family lived in Wasco for two years, later moving to Altadena, California, an unincorporated community of Los Angeles County, located just north of Pasadena, where Campbell attended public school.

Tragedy came early in Campbell's life, when her father was killed during an altercation with a Black man, following a misunderstanding over a minor car accident. The man, who would later become one of Campbell's friends, knocked her father to the ground, killing him. "On impulse he grabbed my father by the neck and threw him to the ground" (Campbell, 1981).

The consequences of that episode changed the direction of Campbell's life. Through the experience, Campbell realized that "black families have been forced to deal with similar deaths for many years...with nothing being done about it." Over time, the man who had accidentally killed her father "proved to be a very fine person," and, according to Campbell, "was devastated over what happened." Ironically, without the man knowing it, the two later worked together in building a

community walk that was designed on the theme of racial reconciliation. “He did not know what I was, never did...as far as I know” (Campbell, 1981).

After graduating high school, Campbell began her college studies at the University of Southern California, though she would not finish her degree there until 1949. During her first year of college, she met Harold Campbell, an accounting student, and they were soon engaged. “I foolishly married too early, after having dated less than a year” (Campbell, 1981). Her husband, then a certified public accountant, went to work for General Petroleum, which later became Mobile Oil Corporation. He died unexpectedly in 1959.

After his death, Campbell took a leave of absence from the Pasadena Public Schools, where she had been teaching at a facility for the physically handicapped, becoming a visiting professor of history at Rust College in Holly Springs, Mississippi, a historically Black school of The Methodist Church.

Being a Methodist myself, I was anxious to see the school. When I saw the terrible condition of the campus, I talked to the school’s president and his wife. I volunteered to contribute a year of free instruction, in exchange for room and board. (Campbell, 1981)

Campbell found the conditions at Rust to be “dreadful,” observing that “students didn’t have enough to eat.” Campbell, noting that she had the best room on campus, added that her “board was scanty,” though they did “provide her with a new mattress.” During her stay at Rust, Campbell frequently complained about the alarming conditions, that she viewed as unacceptable and deplorable.

As a proud Methodist, Campbell was embarrassed at the conditions in which students and faculty members were living. “To me, a life-long Methodist, it is difficult to understand why my church has not concentrated whatever efforts is required in money and energy to make Rust College newsworthy on its superior qualities rather than for its deficiencies” (Campbell, 1997, p. 71).

In spite of the hardships, Campbell made the best of Rust, eventually noting that Rust and Mississippi “had captured her heart.” While at Rust, Campbell took classes at The University of Mississippi, visited local Black churches, and even traveled to East Tennessee to tour the Highlander Folk School. She wrote friends of her experience there.

Yesterday I visited the Highlander Folk School—an amazing place. The school sets up citizenship schools to teach illiterates to read and prepare them to register to vote. Their reading books are mimeographed and deal with adult interests; state laws necessary to understand in order to register, how to fill out mail order blanks, money orders, job applications, etc. (Campbell, 1997, p. 98)

After the 1960-61 school year, Campbell moved to Claflin College in Orangeburg, South Carolina, where she actively participated in peaceful protest of the Civil Rights Movement, including a sit-in at Orangeburg’s S. H. Kress Department Store.

About two weeks into my stay at Claflin, I was asked if I would take part in a sit in at Kress Five and Dime. There were only three of us, and I was the only white, and the only faculty members. I was to go in first and order

enough food to share with the black students, who, until I began sharing my meal with them, were ignored. (Campbell, 1981)

In early October of 1961, Campbell was again disappointed in her denomination when a local White Methodist congregation turned away two Black students from Claflin, refusing to let them worship at their church. Campbell wrote to a friend, that one of her students was one of those turned away, and that the student had received letters of regret, including one from a Methodist pastor.

After one year at Claflin, knowing that her leave of absence with the Pasadena Schools was soon ending, she hesitantly returned to California. "I enjoyed the civil rights activities, and I didn't want to go home" (Campbell, 1981). She promptly sold her home, and prepared for a permanent move to Mississippi. Not having a teaching position beforehand, she enrolled at The University of Mississippi, intending to earn her Master of Art in History degree.

Discovering that Tougaloo College in Jackson needed a social studies instructor, Campbell phoned Beittel, Tougaloo's president, who promised her the position that had recently been vacated by John Salter. Campbell taught at Tougaloo from 1963 to 1965. "They were two of the greatest years of my life" (Campbell, 1981).

## CHAPTER IV

### BEITTEL'S BACKGROUND

Adam Daniel Beittel was born in 1899 in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Originally settled in 1718, Lancaster is located near the banks of the Susquehanna River, is considered the oldest inland city in the United States of America, is within Pennsylvania's Dutch and Amish countries, and is located in the southeast corner of the state (Ellis & Evans, 1883, p. 1).

After graduating from Lancaster High School, Beittel attended Findlay College in Findlay, Ohio, which was created by the Churches of God of North America, a small denomination based in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. In his studies at Findlay, Beittel had "a record of all A's in three years" (Beittel, oral history, 1987). It was in the midst of these academic endeavors that Beittel met his future wife, Ruth Fox, the daughter of the college's dean. Beittel was awarded his bachelor's degree in 1922. After Beittel completed his studies at Findley, he earned his master's degree at Oberlin College.

After Oberlin, so that he could seek ordination in the Congregational Church, Beittel completed a Bachelor of Divinity [DB] degree at The University of Chicago. All the while, Beittel's feelings for Fox deepened. "We were married after I took my DB degree" (Beittel, 1998). Then, by entering the Ph.D. program in New Testament and Early Christian Literature, Beittel continued his studies at The University of Chicago, where he earned his doctoral degree in 1929.

Later that year, Beittel and his wife moved to Montana, where Beittel served a church in the Congregational denomination. His pastoral duties there

were short-lived, lasting only two years, so that Beittel could return to higher education as professor and administration. Of these endeavors, Beittel claims,

I have taught in several colleges. I began my college teaching at Earlham College in Indiana. I served as dean and professor of sociology at Guilford College in North Carolina—Greensboro. I was president of Talladega College in Alabama—this is a college with a predominantly Negro enrollment and a mixed faculty. (Beittel, 1965)

In 1945, Beittel was appointed the 8th president of Talladega College. His tenure there, while productive in many ways, ended badly, with Beittel being fired after seven years of service. Beittel's presidency may have been doomed from the beginning, as Beittel had the misfortune to replace a well-liked president, Buell G. Gallagher, who led the school through the Great Depression, as well as World War II. The accomplishments of the Gallagher years created the environment in which Beittel began his presidency at Talladega. Gallagher was well liked by students, faculty, as well as the college's directors, who never developed a fondness for Beittel (Jones & Richardson, 1990, p. 145).

Jones and Richardson (1990) provide an unbecoming review of Beittel's tenure, claiming that Beittel had a unique ability to "perform the role of needler, agitator, radical, and dangerous man, more vigorously than any previous head of Talladega College" (p. 145). They assert that Beittel, even before coming to Talladega, was an initiator of racial unrest.

Jones and Richardson also claim that Beittel agitated local White leaders, as he contended that Black ministers should be granted membership in the

Talladega Ministerial Alliance. Additionally, Beittel petitioned the mayor for Black representation on the city's police force, while demanding that a Black physician be "permitted to practice in the hospital's black wing" (Jones & Richardson, 1990, p. 145). He scolded local clergy for presiding over segregated worship services and for advocating separation of the races whenever and wherever possible. Beittel told the local pastors that it was time to "take progressive steps to demonstrate our belief in Christian brotherhood and discontinue the practice of having the pagan mores of the community dominate our churches" (Jones & Richardson, 1990, p. 145).

Beittel also troubled leaders at the state level. On one occasion, he wrote to Governor James E. Folsom, demanding that Black public school teachers in Alabama be paid wages comparable to their White counterparts. In a letter to Birmingham's commissioner of public safety, Eugene "Bull" Conner, Beittel accused Conner's police officers of harassing Talladega students, who attempting to attend a segregated concert at Birmingham's city auditorium, were turned away. In response to Beittel's public protest, the Ku Klux Klan burned crosses on the Talladega campus, once in 1948 and another time the following year.

While Beittel's accusations may have been justified, it created unfavorable publicity for the school, to the vexation of those who had never supported him. Beittel's most serious wrongdoing may be the act for which he was most vilified. Beittel granted permission, on various occasions, for interracial meetings at

Talladega, or allowed Talladega students to attend like-meetings at other campuses throughout the state.

The most notable case of mixed-racial meetings occurred at Talladega in January 1948, when student representatives, both Black and White, from various schools [Auburn, Birmingham-Southern, Tuskegee, Athens, and Talladega] gathered to discuss matters of social justice and racial unity. Not only did Beittel endorse the meeting, but he also spoke at the conference's opening session, much to the chagrin of Samuel B. Wilson, a college trustee, who, several days later, resigned his position in protest of the multiracial get-together. He telegraphed Beittel, who was visiting Boston at the time of Wilson's resignation, saying, "You should not have further inter-racial or other such conferences on such subjects. Local reaction bad as can be" (Jones & Richardson, 1990, p. 147).

Beittel created exchange programs with "select white liberal arts colleges," like Antioch College [Ohio], Cedar Crest College [Pennsylvania], and Cornell College in Iowa (Jones & Richardson, 1990, p. 149). Such programs were part of Beittel's pedagogy, and he believed that they were advantageous to both Black students and White students, as well their respective schools.

Beittel's most perceptible pledge to interracial education may have been the enrollment of one of his sons as a student at Talladega. The same son, William F. Beittel, participated in the school's exchange program with Antioch College, completing studies there during the 1947-48 school year. "As a matter of fact, while we were at Talladega College, one of our sons—our younger son—



was a student at Talladega College. He took his four years of college at Talladega and was graduated from Talladega” (Beittel, 1965).

As with the interracial meetings, exchange programs, as well as the education of a son, Beittel, unlike his foes, recognized the benefit gleaned when people of different races came together in study, conversation, and friendship. This, to his enemies, in an unforgivable fashion, violated venerable traditions and customs.

Beittel was more victorious in his day-to-day management of the school. During his tenure, the college enjoyed a significant increase in enrollment, a larger and more active alumni association, and the school’s financial outlook improved with the college’s participation in the newly created United Negro College Fund. These accomplishments did not come without the disparagement and condemnation of various detractors, including those within the Talladega community, from both faculty and students.

In spite of a steadily increasing budget, faculty complained that salaries were too low, and were not competitive with other schools. Their claims were not unsubstantiated, especially by 1945, when “three prospective faculty rejected offers from Talladega” mainly because of “the lowness” of the school’s salary schedule. In March of 1949, following a review of wages at other schools, the faculty petitioned the board of trustees for a 7.5% pay raise. “A 1948-49 faculty study comparing Talladega with eight colleges from Pennsylvania to Georgia revealed that Talladega ranked below the median in all areas except those of assistant professors with PhD’s” (Jones & Richardson, 1990, p. 153). Regardless

of the findings, the trustees refused to consider the salary increase, noting, “certain inefficient staff deserved no raise” (Jones & Richardson, 1990, p. 153). While Beittel’s influence over the trustees in such an issue may have been minimal, he was blamed for not supporting the faculty, as tensions continued to mount.

Students, many of whom supported Beittel in the past, began to find fault with his leadership, particularly as it related to intercollegiate football. To the dismay of students and alumni, the school, under Gallagher, abandoned football in 1942, claiming that it contributed to the institution’s financial decline. Beittel, never advocating for the reestablishment of the football program, suggested that there were better ways to spend the school’s limited funds. “More educationally sound was an expansion of the gymnasium and emphasis on skills such as tennis, swimming, volleyball, hiking, softball, folk dancing, and the like, which students could use after graduation” (Jones & Richardson, 1990, p. 154).

Beittel favored off-campus student activities, claiming they provided “educational and cultural opportunities” (Jones & Richardson, 1990, p. 154). Trips were organized, with students visiting various destinations, including: New Orleans, Washington, D. C., Detroit, and Montgomery. International trips were planned, too, allowing students to visit Mexico, Cuba, Canada, and Europe. Students were not appeased by such jaunts. By June of 1952, in fact, an organized group, representing about 100 students, demanded Beittel’s removal. The group, in their letter to college trustees wrote, “The Student Body feels now just as before, that if Talladega College is to remain the great institution that it

has been in the past, Dr. A. D. Beittel must be dismissed as President” (Jones & Richardson, 1990, p. 165). The board, respecting the wishes of faculty and students, fired Beittel on June 2, 1952.

After Talladega, Beittel and his wife traveled across Europe, “visiting most of the countries, and most of the capitals” (Beittel, 1987). After that hiatus, Beittel accepted a position as dean of the chapel and professor of religion at Beloit College, a school in Wisconsin, approximately one hundred miles from Chicago (Beittel, 1987). Beittel was teaching at Beloit during the late summer of 1960, when trustees from Tougaloo College first contacted him. (Beittel, 1965).

## CHAPTER V

1960

During the late summer of 1960, following the resignation of Dr. Samuel C. Kincheloe, the Tougaloo's Board of Trustees began searching for the college's next administrator. Board members, anxious to replace Kincheloe before the beginning of fall classes, selected Dr. Adam Daniel Beittel, a veteran academician with experience in leadership in higher education, and especially recognized for his previous position as president of Talladega College, another institution of the AMA.

It was during this time that Beittel was approached by a small group of Tougaloo's trustees who met with him at his home at Beloit regarding the vacancy at Tougaloo. The evidence suggests that he was not seeking a new job and that he enjoyed his work at Beloit. Furthermore, Beittel was looking forward to an upcoming sabbatical in the Middle East, which he and his wife, Ruth, had been planning and anticipating. With his retirement just a few years away, it seemed a perfect time for Beittel and his wife to take the long awaited excursion and to scoff at the thought of taking another leadership position at a southern college.

To leave Beloit for troubled Mississippi did not make sense. Only the assurance of the board that he could continue until age seventy [with his option to continue after sixty-five on a yearly basis] persuaded him and his wife to sell their home overlooking the Rock River, to give up the

sabbatical, and to assume the responsibilities at Tougaloo. (Campbell & Rogers, 1979, p. 196)

This may explain Beittel's deliberation before accepting the offer from Tougaloo. According to Beittel, he took the job anticipating a "good deal of activity" [relating to Civil Rights] (Beittel, 1965). Beittel also notes that, following his arrival in Mississippi and after beginning official duties, he "was not disappointed [in the amount of civil rights activities]" (Beittel, 1965). Likewise, Mississippi's civil rights activists and organizers were not disappointed in Beittel, who, according to O'Brien (2013) "brought with him liberal racial views that helped to galvanize activist segments of the student population—and later members of the faculty" (p. 35).

Beittel's eagerness for "activities" may have related to events that had recently transpired within the state. Since the Supreme Court's 1954 landmark ruling on school desegregation, Mississippi's segregationists had grown increasingly ferocious. Consequently, the state's African Americans, fatigued by the injustices of Jim Crow traditions, began demanding the equality that the courts were now allowing.

The year of Beittel's arrival at Tougaloo began with a blow to integrationists. On January 19, "an extremely cold and windy day," Ross Barnett, a declared segregationist who charmed some of the state's most fanatical racists, was inaugurated as Mississippi's 52<sup>nd</sup> governor (Sumners, 1980, p.129). His election, which followed two failed bids for the same office, typified the deteriorating climate of race relations in Mississippi, while indicating his

administration's disdain for its Black citizenry. Many of those very citizens, including students at Tougaloo College, would not acquiesce to Barnett's tyrannical views and policies. Tougaloo, long before Barnett's rise to power, had nurtured the imaginations and curiosities of its students. Over the years, Tougaloo had become *an oasis*, where students experienced transformative change through both education and civil rights crusading (M. Watson, personal communication, December 16, 2012).

Four months after Barnett's inauguration, Medgar Evers, Field Secretary for the NAACP, called on Jackson's Black high school and college students, including those at Tougaloo, to aid "in the education of the Mississippi Negro," with the ultimate goal of teaching older African Americans to strike back at Jim Crow traditions by boycotting White-owned businesses during the week preceding Easter [April 10 to April 17]. Tougaloo pupils, including Thomas Armstrong, were among the 600 students who, following Evers' instructions, went door-to-door, targeting more than 5,000 Blacks within the city limits. "Some of the blacks contacted were indeed pessimistic about the boycott, and some were puzzled" (Armstrong, 2011, p. 83). The students detailed the strategy, explained the projected outcome, and solicited the people's participation. The students reminded the skeptical that the targeted stores "were the same stores that would not let them try on a pair of shoes because they were Negros [sic]" and that they were the same stores that "would not hire them or let them eat at the lunch counters located within the stores" (Armstrong, 2011, p. 83).

Later that month, a small group inspired by the success of the Greensboro, North Carolina, sit-ins, and agitated by Barnett's election, attempted to desegregate the beaches of Mississippi's Gulf Coast. This rebellion, which was led by a Gilbert Mason, a local Black physician, became the first "open attack on segregation" in Mississippi. "When Dr. Gilbert Mason and his friends ventured onto the public beach in Biloxi in April 1960, they were attacked by a mob armed with chains, bats, and pipes while the police looked on" (Davis, 1999, p. 193). Of the demonstrations of April 24, Mason writes:

Our folks were like lambs being led to the slaughter. I thought, "Lord, what have I gotten these people into?" Some of the forty or fifty blacks at the foot of Gill [Avenue] were already in the water with at least four or five hundred whites surrounding them and beating whomever they could lay hands on. It was too late to call it off. (Mason, 2000, p. 68)

The bloodshed of the seashore attacks spread across the coastal region over the days that followed. The murders of two young Black men, Bud Strong and Malcomb Jackson, were especially disturbing. Strong, a "mentally retarded" [sic] and transient beggar, was the sister of a local teacher, and was considered harmless, usually asking passersby to "Give me a nickel." He was killed very near the site of the wade-in (Mason, 2000, p. 77).

A couple of nights after the riot someone took poor, helpless Bud Strong and cut his throat, all but decapitating him, then left him dead in the neutral ground on Highway 90 in front of Beauvoir facing the beach. Of all the places in our community to kill a black man, none could have sent a

more sinister or a more powerful symbolic message than Beauvoir, the antebellum mansion that served as the post-Civil War home of Jefferson Davis. (Mason, 2000, p. 77)

Jackson was murdered while in the custody of the Pascagoula Police Department, apparently killed at the hands of law enforcement officers. “I examined the photographs of the boy’s beaten and bruised body” (Mason, 2000, p. 78). Not knowing what might happen next, African Americans, fearing White gang violence, began arming themselves. When Whites did likewise, the hardware stores were soon depleted of guns and ammunition.

Mason, who was born and raised in Jackson, had numerous ties to Tougaloo, and even considered attending classes there, but ultimately graduated from Tennessee State University, believing that Tennessee State provided a better path to medical school. Mason was also a confidant and friend of Evers, who frequently held organization meetings at Tougaloo, and recruited its students for various civil rights activities. Beittel and Mason later served together on the Mississippi Advisory Committee to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission (Beittel, 1965).

A few weeks after the boycott in Jackson, Mason, now the newly elected president of the Biloxi NAACP, adopted a similar strategy for his ninety-two member chapter. Instead of boycotting all White-owned businesses in Biloxi, the group selected three specific businesses, including a hardware store where many of the pipes and chains used in the beatings on the beach were purchased. They also boycotted a local pharmacy, whose owner had fired six Black workers,



after accusing them of participating in the recent wade-in. Lastly, the group stopped purchasing Borden's milk and dairy products, encouraging their neighbors to do likewise. Just after the wade-in, Borden fired A. A. Dickey, alleging that Dickey had participated in the wade-in, though he was not on the beach that day. "We negotiated with a competing company called Dairy Fresh. Dairy Fresh hired A.A. Dickey and bought out the Borden's facilities" (Mason, 2000, p. 83).

Meanwhile, in Superior, Wisconsin, John Salter, after completing his master's degree in Sociology, began his first teaching job, after having been hired at Wisconsin State College. During his first and only year at Wisconsin State, Salter attempted to organize his fellow professors in joining the American Federation of Teachers. His efforts at unionizing the faculty failed, and consequently his job was not renewed for the second year.

During the time in Wisconsin, Salter and his newlywed wife, Eldri, followed the news of racial conflicts in Mississippi. The reports of such events distressed them, yet were peculiarly inspirational, especially those involving students. The endeavors of so many young people, both Black and White, as well as their arrests, were leading stories on the evening news. Salter kept apprised of the latest news bulletins from Jackson, being moved by those who were already a part of the struggle of which he yearned to be a part.

It was in the shadow and climate of the violence on the coast, as well the unrest in Jackson that Beittel began his leadership of *Tougaloo* on September 1. The headlines of the October 1960 edition of *Tougaloo Southern News*, infers

that Beittel's presidency began at a time of great accomplishments for the school, its faculty, and its students. In that publication, it was reported that numerous Tougaloo graduates from the previous academic year had been accepted to prominent graduate programs, including several who were recipients of Danfort Graduate Fellowships. The edition also detailed the undertakings of various alumni, reported on recent athletic activities, and described building programs that were underway across the campus.

The same issue printed Beittel's "Statement of Intent" in which Beittel remarked on the oppressiveness of Mississippi's Jim Crow culture, suggesting that it was the paramount impediment that he and Tougaloo faced in the dawn of his presidency. Of his strategy to overcome such a hurdle, Beittel noted that educating African Americans, at places like Tougaloo, provided "an opportunity to attack one of America's major national problems." From the beginning of his tenure, Beittel was associating his school, and his students, with the "attacking" of Mississippi's mores and traditions.

In a November 16, 1960 letter to the college's trustee, Beittel, seeing to the school's day-to-day needs, asked the members' assistance in finding a philanthropist who might be willing to donate \$400,000 toward the construction of a new dining hall, which would also house a snack bar, meeting rooms for small study groups, as well as recreation facilities. Beittel, insisting that the proposed building would "meet a pressing need," suggested that

There must be a man or woman somewhere in this country who would like to perpetuate his name on a building at Tougaloo if he were to realize that

this is the only fully accredited college for Negroes in Mississippi at the present time, that we are preparing a number of promising students for graduating work in the fields of medicine, law, theology, engineering and college teaching, in addition to supplying the public school system in Mississippi with a substantial number of elementary and secondary school teachers every year. (Beittel's letter to the Board of Trustees, November 16, 1960)

The year ended with Beittel facing the day-to-day administrative struggles, mainly of the financial nature, that were familiar to administrators of African American colleges and universities. When Beittel began his tenure at Tougaloo, the school had an operational deficit of over 34 thousand dollars (Campbell & Rogers, 1979, p. 196). From the early days of his administration, Beittel began soliciting the help of various foundations. His efforts were ultimately successful, as he secured grants from the Cummings Engine Foundation, the Carnegie Foundation, as well as the Ford Foundation. "Beittel realized that the school could accomplish little, in Civil Rights, or anything else, if it were not financially sound" (M. Watson, personal communication, December 17, 2012).

The next year, 1961, progressively hostile segregationists, who questioned Beittel's patriotism, while referring to Tougaloo as a *cancer college*, increasingly challenged Beittel and Tougaloo. Those criticisms escalated with the read-in of the Tougaloo Nine, the imprisonment of the Tougaloo Four, the admission of two White students at the historically Black school, and the hospitality that Tougaloo provided to several hundred Freedom Riders.

## CHAPTER VI

1961

Many of the powers that eventually contested Adam Daniel Beittel's leadership of Tougaloo College were already entrenched with political muscle and might by the time Beittel began his first spring semester as the school's president in early 1961. From the beginning of his tenure at Tougaloo the previous fall, Beittel's presence in Mississippi provoked many White Jacksonians who viewed him as another *outsider* and *troublemaker*. They saw him as an *agitator* who was determined to persuade the state's Blacks that they were discontented with life in Mississippi. While many African Americans needed little convincing, some Black students were especially vivacious, particularly those who were less worried about the ramifications of protests. Many of these youth, unlike their parents, did not risk being fired or evicted for their participation in civil rights demonstrations and marches.

There are many Negroes [sic] who would like to be active members in the NAACP, but they fear that their employer might disagree, may use reprisals, may fire them from their jobs, and so they'll talk about their interest but without any very adequate public expression of it. There are some [Tougaloo students] who react to their parents' inactivity in civil rights causes and become very active. (Beittel, 1965)

In early 1961, Medgar Evers, Field Secretary for the NAACP, with Beittel's knowledge and blessing, began strategizing with a cadre of Tougaloo students, attempting to develop a unique plan for an upcoming protest. Beittel esteemed

Evers and respected his commitment to equality and racial justice. He trusted Evers not to recklessly endanger the lives of Tougaloo's students, though Beittel understood the inherent perils of publically challenging Jim Crow traditions and decrees. "Medgar Evers was not a rabble-rouser, as some people in the civil rights movement are. He was quiet but persistent. (Beittel, 1965). Beittel recognized Evers as a role model to several of the school's pupils, knowing that he encouraged them to follow the pattern of Black youth who successfully participated in peaceful protest, especially those of the Black Student Movement, including the group who, just one year earlier, orchestrated the first lunch counter sit in. On that occasion, four Black students from North Carolina A & T College integrated a Woolworth's lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina. The event garnered significant media coverage and sparked sit-ins that occurred throughout the South (Meier & Rudwick, 1975, p. 101).

On March 27, nine Tougaloo students [Meredith Anding, Samuel Bradford, Alfred Cook, Geraldine Edwards, Janice Jackson, Joseph Jackson, Albert Lassiter, Evelyn Pierce, and Ethel Sawyer] entered Jackson's *main branch* library, which was part of the city's segregated library system. Of the nine, all were Black, four were male, and five were female. The group, later called the "Tougaloo Nine," dispersed throughout the library, looked for books that they knew were not held at the *colored branch* [sic] and prepared for their arrest. The students were well rehearsed, having brainstormed and rehearsed responses every possible situation. Geraldine Edwards, a sophomore from Vidalia, Louisiana, and one of the Tougaloo Nine, describes the groundwork that

prepared the students to accomplish the read-in: "I followed the instructions we were given. Preparing for this experience was not something to be left to too much chance. I knew exactly what my assignment was and was ready to carry it out" (Hollis, 2011, p. 119). For several weeks, Evers and Tougaloo's chaplain, John Mangrum, had trained the students how to respond in any eventuality.

Accompanied by reporters and photographers, the students moved inside; one undergraduate perused the card catalog while the others took books off the shelves, sat at the tables, and began to read. When library workers asked why they were there, the students replied that they were gathering research material for their college courses. The police arrived quickly and told them to go to the "colored library." (Dittmer, 1994, p. 87)

The students, knowing that arrest was inevitable, refused to capitulate, and continued to peruse the library's shelves. "The white people in the library were awed by their presence, particularly the young black man who went to the desk to ask for help finding his book. 'Y'all can't be in here,' they were told. At least that's what the kinder patrons said. Others hurled ugly epithets" (Gilbert, 2012).

Beittel, who was in Atlanta at a meeting of the Southern Association of Colleges and School, was not aware of the read-in until he received news of the students' arrest. He promptly returned to Mississippi, so that he could begin efforts to secure the release of his students.

I knew nothing of it in advance. I was in Atlanta when it happened. In all probability, I wouldn't have been in Atlanta if I had known this was going to

happen. At the same time, if I had known it was going to happen, I probably would have made no effort to prevent it. (Beittel, 1965)

Within hours, news of the arrests had spread across Jackson, eventually reaching students at Jackson State University, many of whom were empathetic to the plight of the Tougaloo Nine. Dorie and Joyce Ladner [Joyce later became the first female president of Howard University], African American sisters from Hattiesburg, both students at Jackson State, were especially alarmed over the incarceration of their Tougaloo peers. With the help of Evers, and to the dismay of Jackson State's administrators, the Ladners orchestrated a prayer vigil, which was held the evening of the read-in on the Jackson State campus. Many of the over 700 attendees were a part of the campus community, though there were also students from Tougaloo, as well as White students from Millsaps College (Dittmer, 1994, p. 88).

The students from Jackson State University who attended the event, including the Ladner sisters, disobeyed the school's Black president, Dr. Jacob L. Reddix, who "had previously made it clear to his students that he would not tolerate civil rights activities on his campus" (Dittmer, 1994, p. 88). Reddix, unlike Beittel, as the administrator of a state supported school, was keenly aware of state legislators and other governmental officials who partially determined the amount of the school's state funding. While the crowd was well behaved, with most attendees observing Emmett Burn's prayer [Burn's later became program coordinator for the NAACP in Virginia and Maryland before being appointed as

NAACP field secretary in Mississippi], Reddix appeared increasingly frantic by the gathering, and eventually ordered the cessation of the vigil.

When President Reddix walked up, he angrily demanded that the students go to their rooms, but only after he threatened to expel them. The next day Jackson State students boycotted classes and staged an illegal rally on campus, after which a group of fifty began a march to the city jail, where the Tougaloo students, still in custody, were meeting with their college president, Daniel Beittel, who came to demonstrate his support. (Dittmer, 1994, p. 88)

Beittel, according to the *Jackson Advocate*, visited the students to “discuss with them an upcoming examination, and to make arrangement for their taking the examination at a later date” (“Tougaloo College Plans No Action Against Sit-In Students,” 1961, p. 7).

As the group from Jackson State neared the jail, police officers, swinging clubs and equipped with tear gas, ordered the students to disband. “When the students refused to disband the police started swinging clubs. No one was believed seriously injured, although one student showed a reporter a welt on his back” (“Police Halt March by Negro Students In Mississippi,” 1961, p. E1). The students, realizing that further resistance was futile, obeyed the officers’ orders, finding alternate routes to the courthouse. Ironically, the clash with police occurred within blocks of a state-sponsored parade, held in celebration of Mississippi’s participation in the U.S. Civil War. At the same hour, the Tougaloo Nine appeared before the court.



The March 29 trial was a protest demonstration in itself. The “colored” section at the municipal court filled up early that day, and supporters of the students spilled onto the courthouse steps. When the nine arrived, the crowd erupted into cheers and applause. Policemen moved in with clubs, dogs, and tear gas. Medgar Evers, one of those in the crowd, was battered to the ground. But the movement appeared unstoppable now. (Cobb, 2008, p. 269)

The Tougaloo Nine were convicted of “breach of the peace,” fined 100 dollars each, and were sentenced to 30 days in prison, though the court suspended the order for imprisonment. All of the charges against them were later dismissed when their convictions were challenged in the federal courts. The actions of “the Nine” were, according to Evers’ wife, Myrlie, “the change of tide in Mississippi” (as cited in Dittmer, 1994, p. 89).

On the day of the trial, Evers, realizing that the sit-in had *electrified* African Americans, drafted a memo to NAACP President, Roy Wilkins, in which Evers venerated the Tougaloo Nine, forecasted increasing membership and donations for the state’s NAACP chapters, while recommending that Wilkins honor the Tougaloo Nine at the organization’s upcoming national convention. “This act of bravery and concern on the part of these nine young people has seemed to electrify Negroes’ desire for Freedom here in Mississippi, which will doubtlessly be shown in increase in membership and funds for 1961” (Evers’ letter to Wilkins, March 29, 1961). The Tougaloo Nine attended the NAACP’s

53rd Annual Conference in Philadelphia from July 1 to July 16. ("Tougaloo Nine Honored Here and in North," 1961, p. 1).

In addition to the reverence the students received in Philadelphia, Beittel announced that upperclassmen from Beloit College in Wisconsin had contributed to the legal defense fund of the Tougaloo Nine. As part of his statement, Beittel clarified his administration's involvement in the protest, remarking that while the campus community "wholeheartedly" supported the Nine, the "read-in was not a college sponsored demonstration" ("Tougaloo Nine Honored Here and in North," 1961, p.1). Beittel frequently repeated this caveat following events of the Jackson Movement that involved Tougaloo students and faculty.

Edwards remembers the support that the Nine received from peers at Tougaloo, who collected money and food for their incarcerated classmates. The Tougaloo Nine were also aware of the trouble that had occurred at Jackson State on their behalf. Following their trial, when the Nine returned to their campus, they learned the extent to which other students at Tougaloo had aided the cause, helping in whatever ways they could. Unlike their peers at Jackson State College, who were prohibited from backing the Nine, the students at Tougaloo were not hindered by college administrators but were encouraged by Beittel ("Tougaloo Nine Honored Here and in North," 1961, p 1).

Tougaloo College Students had supported the effort with all that they were able and were allowed to do. Food collected and sent to the Tougaloo Nine was undeliverable [prison officials would not allow the food to be given to the students], as were flowers and any other method of physical

support. We had the emotional love and support of which we were very appreciative. We found this out after we were released and upon returning to Tougaloo Campus. (Hollis, 2011, p. 130).

The sit-in, as well as the ensuing arrest of his students, caused Beittel to issue a statement regarding the school's response to the actions of the Tougaloo Nine who had broken local laws, as well the southern traditions of strict segregation in a prescribed place. While Beittel could have dealt some slight punishment for the appeasement on his detractors, Beittel, to the dismay of the same foes, endorsed their protesters by publicly stating that "the college plans no disciplinary actions against any of the nine students arrested in the sit in demonstration at the Jackson Municipal Library" ("Tougaloo College Plans No Action Against Sit-In Students," 1961, p. 1).

While many White Jacksonians disregarded the sit-in, as well as the subsequent protest and trail, reacting with "silence and fantasy" ("Jackson at Turning Point as Negro Students Act" 1961, p. 5), Jackson's police and its mayor, Allen Cavett Thompson, delivered the city's responses. Unsurprisingly, both blamed the occurrences on *outside agitators* and on members of the media, who, according to the mayor, exaggerated the severity of the circumstances. The influence of the Northern press, from Thompson's perspective, was disconcerting to the accord in which Jacksonians, both Black and White, coexisted.

Police officials said that reports of the incident (the actions of the "Negro [sic] students) were lies by the NAACP; the mayor in a TV appearance declared Jackson had always enjoyed racial harmony and blamed the sit-

in on outsiders who he said, “were trying to destroy our mutual good will.”

(“Jackson at Turning Point as Negro Students Act,” 1961, p. 5)

The *New York Times*, the largest metropolitan newspaper in the United States, reported on major occurrences of civil unrest throughout the South, including the story of the Tougaloo Nine. Their article detailed police who “were using clubs and tear gas,” German police dogs that “growled and lunged” toward students, and of marchers who “were stopped short on a march to the city jail” (“Police Halt March by Negro Students in Mississippi,” 1961, p. E1).

This type of publicity, especially when appearing in widely circulated newspapers, was unwelcome by many Northern charities and philanthropist that supported Tougaloo College. Many of these charities were associated with corporations that held significant business interests in the South, and were displeased with the unrest that occurred in Jackson and throughout the Deep South. The publicity was also unsolicited and frustrating for local church congregations, like Jackson’s First Christian Church, that were affiliated with and beholden to Northern denominations.

On April 17, board members of the all-White First Christian Church in Jackson, still incensed over Tougaloo’s role in the library sit-in, met with Beittel. The church’s officers hoped that they might sway the school’s president, convincing him to abandon the college’s endorsement of further civil rights activities. As local businesspersons, the board members understood the ramifications of angering Jackson’s White power structure. The congregation’s representatives, while noting that their church had historically supported

Tougaloo, annually donating to the school's operational funds, found fault with Beittel's willingness to allow students to picket against racial injustices. They commanded, according to Beittel's notes, that "Tougaloo not encourage persons of the student body, faculty, or staff to engage in forms of protest that could have harmful repercussions [to the school and its reputation]" (Beittel's personal notes, April 17, 1961).

Two days later, Beittel, not persuaded by the group's urgings, wrote Bayard Van Hecke, one of the visiting board members. While supporting the privilege of his students to protest any injustices and discriminations, Beittel also defended the Tougaloo Nine and the appeal of their convictions. Church members, feeling that the publicity was detrimental to Tougaloo and groups that sustain it, requested that the appeal be dropped for the betterment of the school. Beittel, refusing to entertain such a notion, wrote:

If Jackson were willing to do what Memphis did under similar circumstances, that is, to open the library to all citizens of Jackson without discrimination, it is probable that the students would reconsider the matter and be willing to have the lawsuit closed. (Beittel's letter to Van Hecke, April 19, 1961)

Disillusioned with Beittel's response that "the appeal will stand," the church halted all donations to Tougaloo, while severing all ties with the school. In doing so, the church ended a historic relationship that began during the earliest days of the college's history. First Christian Church was part of the United Missionary

Society and was once affiliated with the AMA, the agency that created Tougaloo in the years following the Civil War.

Beittel's stance established his willingness to challenge those who hindered the progressive work of integration, even when those deterrents came within the Tougaloo's founding organization. Several weeks later, in a move not keeping with the local congregation's decision to cease contributing to Tougaloo, the National Board of the United Missionary Society released a statement clarifying the agency's position on sit-ins and the overall direction of the Civil Rights Movement. The contents of the release, especially so soon after Beittel's meeting with local church members, suggested a division between the Jackson congregation and its denominational governance. In this case, the executive management of the United Missionary Society [UMS] was in support of the students' activism. Meanwhile, members of Jackson's First Christian Church distanced themselves from Tougaloo, the students, and Beittel. In part, the statement from the UMS read,

Sit-in demonstrations have been conducted with a maximum of orderliness, restraint, dignity, and lack of violence. In the few instances where violence has attended them it has almost informally been initiated by groups of whites who have attempted to provoke the demonstrators with epithets, minor harassments such as burning the sit-inner with cigarette butts and, at times, physical brutality. ("United Christian Missionary Society Press Release," May 11, 1961)

The agency's statement fortified Beittel, validated and clarified the actions of the Tougaloo Nine, mentioned the precedence of protest set by the earliest Christians, while noting the extensive history of Christian disobedience in response to injustice and wrongdoings. "There is a difference between civil disobedience, which had been practiced by Christians from earliest times as an expression of their ultimate loyalty to the will of God and their conscience and, on the other hand, reckless law breaking" ("United Christian Missionary Society Press Release," May 11, 1961).

Throughout the controversies, sit-ins, and protests, Beittel still had a college to run. While working to overcome a sizeable operational deficit that Beittel inherited from the previous administration, Beittel was also raising funds for needed improvements to the college's physical plants. Beittel recognized that the school urgently needed a cafeteria and student union to make Tougaloo more appealing to prospective students. Construction for Warren Hall, which would serve as both a cafeteria and a student activities center, began in 1961 and was completed the next year. Beittel also worked to improve the school's academic standing by implementing additional exchange programs with northern schools. Beittel also encouraged faculty to participate in summer teaching opportunities at prestigious schools throughout the North. "We had numerous faculty members who sought summer teaching assignments at Northern schools. It was a tremendous learning and research opportunity. It also gave us the chance to promote Tougaloo, which must have been part of Beittel's thinking" (J. Garner, personal communication, February 16, 2012). Additionally, Beittel

implemented “prefreshmen summer courses,” which better prepared incoming freshmen for the rigors of academia (Campbell & Rogers, 1979, p. 197). “The summer camps were a huge success, and continued well after Beittel’s presidency” (M. Watson, personal communication, December 16, 2013).

On May 23, less than two weeks after the aforementioned press release, Mangrum, Tougaloo’s Black chaplain and advisor to the college’s NAACP chapter, spoke to a gathering of the local NAACP membership. Though he was often disconcerting to White Jacksonians, Mangrum, while considered outspoken on civil rights troubles, was not discouraged, reprimanded, or censured by Beittel. Instead, Mangrum spoke without restraint, sometimes to the impairment of both Beittel and the school. At the meeting of NAACP representatives, Mangrum was especially vocal and hot tempered, saying,

The laws [Jim Crow laws] are intended to primarily humiliate Negro [sic] people by stigmatizing them as inferior and denying them the dignity and respect to which a human being is entitled... Negro [sic] and white people have lived together and sometimes slept together, contributing their blood, sweat, and tears for the development of the “land of the free and the home of the brave”... It is morally wrong, socially wrong, and wrong period.

(John Mangrum’s speech to the Jackson Branch of the NAACP, May 23, 1961)

Mangrum, predominantly through his advisement of the school’s NAACP chapter, vigorously protested against racial discrimination, while Dr. Ernst Borinski, Tougaloo’s Social Science Professor, provoked change through his



*social science forums*, which he believed to be simulative for his students, many of whom were seeking guidance and information regarding effective social justice movements. The last forum of that academic year was held on May 3, with Dr. Athanassios N. Yiannopoulos, Professor of Comparative Law at the University of Athens, Greece and Law Professor at Louisiana State University, as the guest speaker. His lecture, “Law and Social Conduct” and “Investigation into Legal and Moral Principles as Determinants of Social Behavior in our Community,” was followed by a discussion during which students and Yiannopoulos debated the likelihood that some occurrence might initiate a movement of nonviolent protest. (“Final Forum Held,” 1961, p. 1).

Without the student’s foreknowledge, a significant nonviolent protest began the following day, May 4, as seven Blacks and six Whites, a group identified as the Freedom Riders, departed Washington, D. C. They modeled their bus *ride* after the “Journey of Reconciliation,” which occurred in 1947, and was an attempt to integrate transportation hubs throughout the “Deep South” (Arsenault, 2006, p. 96). Beittel’s support, both public and private, of the Rides and the Riders presented Beittel with a multitude of tribulations, many that were lasting and ongoing, reaping attention that was unwanted, especially by Tougaloo’s financial supporters throughout the North.

With part of the group riding on a Trailways bus, with the others on a Greyhound, both clusters traveled without serious incident until May 14, when the Greyhound bus, just six miles southwest of Anniston, Alabama, was firebombed, and set ablaze by members of the Ku Klux Klan. The mob, led by Kenneth

Adams, a local Klansman, used knives to slash the bus's tires, while others bashed the bus with clubs. The Riders were attacked and beaten, yet all survived (Arsenault, 2006, p. 145).

They were all lucky to be alive. Several members of the mob had pressed against the door screaming, "Burn them alive." The Freedom Riders had been all but doomed until an exploding fuel tank convinced the mob that the whole bus was about to explode. (Arsenault, 2006, p. 145).

Those on the Trailways bus, unaware of what had happened to their comrades, continued to Birmingham, where they, too, were attacked by a mob carrying brass knuckles, pipes, baseball bats, and chains. Several of the Riders were too severely injured to continue the trip (Arsenault, 2006, p. 149).

When reports of the riot reached Diane Nash, a student from Fisk University and leader of Nashville's chapter of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee [SNCC], she pledged 10 "new" Riders, who would pick up where the others ended their travels. The 10 Riders [eight Blacks and two Whites] departed Nashville on May 17, just after "writing out their wills," which they "sealed" and gave to Nash, as she was staying behind to manage the efforts from Nashville (Eskew, 1997, p. 161).

The new Riders departed Birmingham only days after the others were forced to succumb. A few miles outside of Montgomery, the group's police escort disappeared, leaving the Riders to defend themselves against an angry mob at the Montgomery Greyhound station. "At least 200 thugs were waiting when the bus arrived, reenacting the Birmingham riot while police commissioner, L. B.

Sullivan watched from his car” (Newton, 2007, p. 299). A federal official representing the U.S. Attorney General’s office, John Seigenthaler, having been sent to Montgomery to negotiate with Alabama’s segregationist governor, John Patterson, was brutally beaten while trying to save a White female student. “The mob beat him mercilessly and left him to die” (Eskew, 1997, p. 163). Though seriously injured, Seigenthaler, after passing out and later waking in the x-ray room at a local hospital, survived the attack and the severe blows (Branch, 1989, p. 449).

On May 24, 27 Freedom Riders, 16 newspaper reporters, and six soldiers of the Alabama National Guard, while under the protection of the large security force, departed Montgomery Trailways station. “In addition to several dozen highway patrol cars, there were two helicopters and three U.S. Border Patrol planes flying overhead” (Arsenault, 2006, p. 262).

Soon after the bus left Montgomery, another group of Freedom Riders purchased tickets to Jackson on a bus that would depart later the same day. This group, however, lacked the security forces that had been dedicated to the protection of those on the first (Branch, 1989. p. 472).

On the first bus, Lucretia Collins, to help calm frayed nerves, reminded the riders of “non-violence” techniques, after which Hank Thomas led the group in singing their own version of “Hallelujah! I’m a Traveling.” When the bus reached the state line, six soldiers of the Mississippi National Guard replaced their cohorts from Alabama. Soon after, the Riders, already frustrated because no rest stops were being allowed on the trip from the state line to Jackson were more agitated

when the bus was delayed for over an hour, after Mississippi officials uncovered a plot to bomb the bus. While the Riders waited aboard the bus, National Guard soldiers combed the nearby woods, never finding explosives (Arsenault, 2006, p. 265).

The Riders on both buses were not beaten in Jackson, but were arrested. At the news of the incarcerations, CORE officials adopted a strategy of “filling the jails,” in Jackson, while refusing to pay bail. Joan Trumpauer was one of those sent to Mississippi to do just that.

Encouraged by the example of her friend and fellow activists, Hank Thomas, Trumpauer decided to spend the summer of 1961 in Jackson, Mississippi, as a Freedom Rider, helping the Congress of Racial Equality [CORE] “fill the jails.” “By the time I went, things were rolling a bit, and we flew to New Orleans with Stokely Carmichael. I like to say that I brought him to Mississippi” (as cited in Armstrong, 2011, p. 125).

When Trumpauer debarked from her Memphis-bound train at the Jackson, Mississippi, rail station, she was greeted in a way antithetical to the southern teachings of hospitality. On that day, June 8, 1961, Trumpauer faced rage from those who believed that she and the other Freedom Riders were “outside agitators” who were threatening “their way of life.” Trumpauer describes her first encounter with Mississippi law enforcement:

We went down steps to the waiting rooms. Signs with arrows were prominently displayed pointing to the different waiting rooms and with police all over. We walked to the back and around a bit to some seats,

police following. When we sat down, they asked us to move “on and out.”

They asked if we’d all heard and then said we were under arrest. We were all marched off to a sweatbox of a paddy wagon. (Trumpauer, 1961, n.p.)

Earlier that morning, a New Orleans ticket agent inadvertently sold Trumpauer a “round trip ticket,” though she did not intend to return to New Orleans. Instead, she would spend the next several months in Jackson. Although frightened by the “possibility of dying for the cause of racial justice,” Trumpauer states that she “made a conscious decision to defy the southern traditions of Jim Crow” (J. Trumpauer, personal communication, March 14, 2012).

Trumpauer, along with the other Riders who were arrested in Jackson, were first taken to the Jackson City Jail, where they were searched, photographed, fingerprinted, and booked into custody. Trumpauer vividly remembers the arresting officer as he called out “We got 9, 5 black niggers [sic] and four white niggers [sic]” (Trumpauer, 1961, n.p.).

Trumpauer endured a distressing interrogation before the end of her first day in jail, being questioned primarily regarding her views toward religion and interracial marriage. Just before her court appearance, which also occurred on her first day of imprisonment, Trumpauer was appointed legal counsel, a lawyer she described as “a white Canadian guy who came on his own, head of the New York NAACP, and a New York State Senator” (Trumpauer, 1961, n.p.).

After a brief meeting with her lawyer, Trumpauer appeared before a Mississippi judge who, after asking few questions and hearing little testimony, sentenced Trumpauer to four months, with two months suspended and a \$200

fine. Riders typically served 39 days, which was “the maximum they could stay while still able to post bond” (J. Trumpauer, personal communication, March 14, 2012).

Like many Freedom Riders, Trumpauer refused to pay the fine, and was therefore sentenced to extra days in jail. Unlike other Riders, Trumpauer, having a strained relationship with her family, “had nowhere to go,” and therefore intended to stay in jail throughout the summer, paying off her fine at a rate of 3 dollars per day. She planned to remain in the South throughout the next fall, hoping to be accepted at one of the historically Black colleges. While in prison, she learned about Tougaloo College.

After being sentenced, Trumpauer was transferred to the Madison County Jail where she would spend most of the month. In her jailhouse diary, Trumpauer describes her cell. “There are 4 cots on the walls and 4 mattresses on the floor. The place is pretty clean, light yellow and comparatively cool, since it’s in the basement” (Trumpauer, 1961, n.p.).

Trumpauer also describes her cellmates, including “Birdie,” who, because she got along with the trustees, was given extra provisions, and Betty, though not a Freedom Rider, had been sentenced to five days “for drinking” (Trumpauer, 1961, n.p.). Another cellmate, who the group nicknamed “Grandmother,” slept a lot but would occasionally rouse from slumber to “sway on the bars and beg cigarettes and aspirin” (Trumpauer, 1961, n.p.).

From her cell, Trumpauer wrote letters to friends and family, and responded to mail from supporters, as well as those who did not wish her well.

One letter from Ernest T. Hinds of Los Angeles complimented Trumpauer for her works with CORE and her efforts to share “Christian principles.” Hinds writes, “You have conquered fear, hate, prejudices, and all other undemocratic mores associated with a segment of the South” (as cited in Trumpauer, 1961, n.p.).

Many other letters were not so kind. One from an unidentified sender was especially disconcerting and hurtful. “Can’t you and the rest of the younger generation see that the COMMUNIST [sender’s emphasis] are doing this? This isn’t the doings of true BLOODED AMERICANS [sender’s emphasis]. It is the Jews and COMMUNIST [sender’s emphasis] behind all of this Negro [sic] business” (as cited in Trumpauer, 1961, n.p.).

The conditions in the Hinds County Jail, while bad enough, were significantly better than what the Riders would eventually face at Parchman. Trumpauer, while at the county facility, was able to read, exercise, visit with local “white” clergy, as well as representatives of the Salvation Army. She also played charades, practiced ballet, took lessons in Spanish and Greek, read Gandhi, and even “learned the cha cha” (Trumpauer, 1961, n.p.).

In the first days at Hinds County Jail, the female Riders were given comfort supplies, including cigarettes, towels, and washed clothes, which were provided to them from the “women of Jackson.” Soon after, as conditions worsened, jail officials forbade the bringing of such items. As the days passed, Riders were treated more and more harshly, as less consideration was given to Riders who wished to converse with one another, or visit with local clergy. As more and more Riders “filled the jails,” stressing officials of the city, county, and

state, the treatment of those who came before deteriorated. This became evident in numerous ways, including the meals that became blander by the day.

“Meals were served at 5:00am, 12:00 noon, and 5:30pm. Breakfast usually consisted of biscuits, grits, syrup, and chicory, a so-called coffee. For lunch we usually got cornbread and beans, and for supper we got beans and cornbread” (“Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves” 1961, p. 9).

On June 11, Trumpauer and the other Riders in her cell received word that “they’re trying to send us to pen” [Parchman Penitentiary]. On the same day, two Black ministers visited with the Black female prisoners, offering them prayers and communion. Trumpauer remembers being hurt and “mad enough to cry” when the clergy refused to see her.

As conditions worsened, the Riders connected to one another through singing. Even *non-riders* joined the chorus of freedom songs and spirituals, that while uplifting the Riders, annoyed and angered prison officials.

Almost as soon as the lights went out the singing started. The boys would sing some & we’d sing some. A man named Charles has a beautiful voice and sang several solos. Someone further away sang “How Great Thou Art” for Betty. Some white guy kept cursing us out. One guy answered back a little and everyone sang the louder. It was one of the most uplifting experiences I’ve ever had. (Trumpauer, 1961, n.p.).

In the beginning of her incarceration, Trumpauer and the others were allowed to purchase comfort supplies, primarily cigarettes from “the store.” By the second week of Trumpauer’s stay at Hinds, “the store seems gone for good”



(Trumpauer, 1961, n.p.). Though not a smoker, Trumpauer's cellmates were, and she realized the calming impact smoking had on those around her. Without their cigarettes, tempers flared and spirits faltered.

One June 28, the girls of Trumpauer's cell met to discuss the worsening conditions as cigarettes were suddenly forbidden and letters, both ingoing and outgoing, were rationed. On the same day, Trumpauer notes that the "jailers are getting worse." Two days later, Trumpauer made her final entry in her diary, referencing the incredible overcrowded conditions, and the "tightening up" of the jail guards. By that date, Trumpauer and the other Riders were "beating plates" against the metal prison bars when needing assistance from prison officials. It was clear that something had changed. The conditions were growing worse by the hour. Five days later, Trumpauer faced significantly more oppressive conditions at Parchman. To safeguard her diary, Trumpauer, before being transferred to Parchman, sewed her diary inside the hem of her skirt. She removed it months later after enrolling at Tougaloo College.

As Freedom Riders continued to arrive in Mississippi, a group of Tougaloo students, fearing that Riders could be killed once they entered the state's jurisdiction, began "head counting," while making ongoing inquiries into the wellness of all incarcerated Riders, helping to ensure that no activists "went missing" (Armstrong, 2011, p. 106).

A small group of us, maybe ten or twelve, kept track of the number of Riders who had been injured and taken to hospitals along the way, and we checked regularly for details about their whereabouts. We knew that we

were expecting twenty-seven Freedom Riders; therefore we wanted to make sure that twenty-seven arrived in Jackson. (Armstrong, 2011, p. 106)

Meanwhile, organizers, needing to increase the validity of their efforts, and to circumvent the customary accusations by locals that “outside agitators were stirring up trouble,” sought Mississippians to join the Rides. In doing so, they hoped to halt critics who delegitimized the Rides with a concerted effort to falsely assert that Riders were alien to Mississippi and lacked insight into the lives of black Mississippians (Armstrong, 2011, p. 107).

Almost daily newspapers ran editorials and politicians made speeches claiming, “All the trouble in Mississippi is being caused by outside agitators.” They ignored the fact that there were Freedom Riders who were native-born Mississippians. The segregationists had overlooked the June 2, 1961 arrest of Leslie Word, a black male Freedom Rider from Corinth, Mississippi, because he came into Jackson on the freedom bus from Montgomery. The arrest on May 24, 1961 of James Bevel, a CORE activist born in Itta Bena, Mississippi, did not count. Bevel was considered an outsider, since he was a student attending American Baptist Theological Seminary in Jackson. (Armstrong, 2011, p. 107)

Ross Barnett, Mississippi’s governor, in his efforts to discredit the entire campaign, claimed that the Freedom Riders were misguided “outsiders” who failed to realize that the state’s black citizens were well treated. Instead, Barnett argued, “the Nigras [sic] in Mississippi are satisfied with the conditions here” (as

cited in Armstrong, 2011, p.104). Barnett's assertions, while defying reason and evidence, angered African Americans, especially Black youth who were prepared to join the Jackson Movement. Thomas Armstrong, a native Mississippian and a student at Tougaloo, determined to contest Barnett's assertions, joined three of his classmates [Mary Harrison, Elnora Ross Price, and Joseph Ross] in becoming the "Tougaloo Four."

They [SNCC leaders James Bevel and Bernard Lafayette] came over to our campus to organize a meeting for recruiting people to continue the Rides to New Orleans. I had met Bevel earlier that day, and I helped set up the meeting. We had discussed the training and possibility of my joining the Rides. Later at the meeting, when Bevel called for volunteers to continue the Rides, I spoke of my desire to support the efforts and of the need for "Mississippi Freedom Riders." The Bevel asked me, "Well, what are you going to do about it? Will you volunteer to become a Freedom Rider?" I agreed. (Armstrong, 2011, p.109)

The Tougaloo Four, like the Riders who came before, were arrested, charged, and imprisoned. The Four did not, however, endure the hardships that accompanied extended incarceration. Several days after their arrest, Beittel posted bail for his students, while permitting them to return to the campus.

I spent only a short time in the Hinds County jail and avoided going to the Parchman Prison Farm. After three days behind bars, something unusual happened. The president of Tougaloo College, Dr. A. D. Beittel, who was a supporter of the freedom movement, bailed me out. That was shocking,

since I was prepared to spend a minimum of forty days and a maximum of six months in prison, in keeping with CORE's jail-no-bail tactic.

(Armstrong, 2011, p.119).

Just as he had done for the nine students who staged the library protest several months earlier, Beittel was determined not to allow his pupils to remain behind bars and secured the release of the Tougaloo Four. In doing so, Beittel provoked many White Jacksonians who believed that the students should be punished for their denouncement of southern traditions of racial separation.

At the end of the spring semester, Beittel announced that Tougaloo, per his directives, would end its football program, which had recently completed a losing season. The move was intended to save the school a substantial amount of money, but it infuriated many of the college's students. Beittel's actions were reminiscent of Gallagher's deed at Talladega and to his own previous stripping of Talladega's athletic budget during his presidency there, a move that incensed Talladega's students and alumni who believed that sports, particularly football, contributed to campus life and the betterment of the school. At both colleges, Beittel demonstrated a disposition that agitated school supporters, while alienating students, a block of followers that might have been loyal to Beittel during the coming years. Students who were involved in civil rights activities, such as the Tougaloo Nine and the Tougaloo Four, continued to support Beittel. Most of the school's students were not activists. They were the ones who most resented Beittel's dismantling of the football program. "Most of the students were simply students, going to class and so forth. They wanted things to do on

campus, and didn't approval of Beittel's decisions regarding the [football] team" (M. Watson, personal communication, December 17, 2012). Defending his decision at Tougaloo, Beittel issued this statement:

The basic problem was finance. The Athletic Department has about \$8,000 to carry on its sports program. It takes \$15,000 to give a squad of 33 men scholarships at about \$400 to \$500 a man. There will be increased activities in other fields of sports, such as basketball, track, and tennis. Better scholarships will be offered to basketball, track, and tennis stars. ("Tougaloo Drops Football," 1968, p. 1)

By June, the recruitment efforts of CORE had become so fruitful that Jackson's jails were besieged with Freedom Riders, leaving local authorities unable to accept additional activists. City and county officials, plagued with overcrowded jails, sought assistance from Barnett, who offered to incarcerate the Riders at Parchman Farms, the state's penitentiary, which was located in the Mississippi Delta. Barnett believed that Parchman, infamous for its repressive working conditions, would dissuade further protesters from coming to Mississippi. The threat of imprisonment at the penitentiary did little to discourage activists. Instead, following the directives of CORE's administrators, they arrived, almost daily, at area bus and train stations (J. Trumpauer, personal communication, May 10, 2013).

The incursion of Freedom Riders distressed White supremacists, particularly those who believed the Riders to be destroyers the state's heritage and customs, while promoting and spreading communist propaganda. Echoing

the sentiments of some White Mississippians, the state's media was rancorous in their disparaging of Freedom Riders. Several newspapers, including the *Clarion-Ledger* and the *Jackson Daily News*, both owned by the Mississippi Publishers Corporation, risked the lives of some Black Mississippians who supported the Freedom Riders and other demonstrations by publicizing their names and addresses. "Printing those names endangered the safety of many Mississippi residents" (J. Trumpauer, personal communication, May 10, 2013).

In Greenville, Hodding Carter III, who, along with his father, Hodding Carter, Jr., published the *Delta Democrat-Times*, a newspaper that by Mississippi standards was distinctively pro-integration. Carter III, recognizing the severity of the local media's predisposition towards racial segregation, believed that the *Clarion-Ledger* was practically offensive in its reporting on integration. "In a very racist state, they were the standouts. The *Clarion-Ledger* was not a newspaper. It was an organ for the White segregationist establishment" (as cited in "News Wars: The Rise and Fall of The *Clarion-Ledger*," 2011, pp. 12-16). Gwin (2013) claims that writers and editors at the *Clarion-Ledger* "further polarized the races and intensified opposition to desegregation" (p.65).

The editor of the *Jackson Daily News*, Jimmy Ward, in his column "Connecting the Cross Roads" was especially castigatory in his reporting the Freedom Rides. Ward was unapologetically opposed to desegregation, as well as those who advocated it. He frequently used inflammatory words to describe the incarcerated Riders, whom he called "jailed jammers" and "tourists." Ward often suggested,

The mayor should duly sign a proclamation making the Hon. Mr. Lane an honorary Negro [sic]. Secondly, he should have a bright, shiny ring placed in his nose. Thirdly, push him up a tree and let's all watch this publicity hound swing by his tail. ("Covering the Crossroads," 1961, p. A1).

Observing that Ward was typical of Jackson's journalists, John Salter noted, "the local papers preached a poisonous brand of hate" (Salter, 1981).

On July 20, as the Rides continued, an assembly of activists, both clergy and laypersons, gathered at Tougaloo College in support of the Riders. One of the organizers of the "Mission to Mississippi" conference was Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who gained prominence during the Montgomery Bus Boycott, six years earlier. Hoping to attract a diverse gathering of "persons long concerned about problems of racial justice," King wrote many of the nation's most prominent religious leaders, asking for their support and attendance. In his invitation, King noted the conference's goal and objectives, including a plan for the attendees to meet with Jackson's mayor, as well as the state's governor.

None of us can predict the outcome [of the conference]. New and imaginative actions may emerge. Some may wish to take a Ride to the Jackson jail at the conclusion of the conference. Others may decide to organize additional pressure on the federal government. Some may decide simply to return home. Those attending are committed to no course of action. (King's memo to conference attendees, July, 1961).

King's participation in the conference, as well as his presence at Tougaloo, helped the Jackson Movement garner national attention. King was particularly

rousing to young activists, most of whom revered King for his defense of the subjugated and demoralized. James Meredith, who would later become the first African American student at The University of Mississippi, was especially enthusiastic about meeting King.

At the conference, which was held in Beittel's living room on the Tougaloo campus, King joined 27 religious leaders, including Rabbi Sidney Akselrad [President of the Northern California Board of Rabbis], Richard Byfield [Cannon of the Episcopal Diocese of California], Dr. James T. Carey [President of the Catholic Interracial Council], and Russell Jorgensen [Representative of the American Friends Service Committee]. While the participants were primarily from outside Mississippi, local religious and political leaders were also extended invitations.

They met in our living room—28 visitors from outside of the state and some local people. The Governor of Mississippi was too busy to see the group and the Mayor was not all in interested in having a visit from them. When I tried to make an appointment with the Mayor, he inquired whether Martin Luther King would be in the group and then proceeded to say that he would send me a long telegram to explain when he could not see the group. (Beittel's letter to Mrs. Robert R. Grinstead, August 2, 1961)

During the meetings, attendees pledged to take further action in defense of the Riders. At the end of the daylong conference, one group departed for Washington, determined to discuss their grievances with Robert Kennedy, the nation's Attorney General. Nine other Mission to Mississippi delegates [James T.



Carey, Francis L. Geddes, Joseph Henry Gumbiner, Mary L. Jorgensen, Russell F. Jorgensen, Allen Bradford Levine, Orville B. Lester, Charles G. Sellers, and John R. Washington] were arrested while attempting to integrate the coffee shop of the Jackson Airport. In doing so, they became *official* Freedom Riders.

On August 2, Beittel, in a letter to a friend and Tougaloo supporter, Mrs. Robert R. Grinstead, lamented the number of arrests and bemoaned the necessity of demonstration. He also shared concerns regarding the circumstances under which protestors are imprisoned.

The number of arrest in the City of Jackson on a “Breach of Peace” charge is now over three hundred. Segregation on race is not mentioned in connection with any of these arrests. They are simply arrested because they refuse to obey an officer and might cause a breach of the peace.

(Beittel’s letter to Mrs. Robert R. Grinstead, August 2, 1961)

By mid-August, many of those arrested in the first Rides began returning to Jackson to appeal their convictions. Beittel, notwithstanding the growing opposition within the school’s board of trustees, invited the Riders to amass and lodge at Tougaloo. The initial assembly received substantial press coverage, as 189 Riders rallied on the Tougaloo Campus before appearing in Jackson’s Municipal Court, where Judge Russell Moore attempted to dispose of the cases “one by one,” a process that would take months. “He said he would hear two cases a day, with some exceptions, until a final session, now scheduled for Jan. 18, 1962”

Beittel's decision to host the returning Riders exasperated several of the college's trustees, especially Stephen Meisburt, the only White member of the college's board, and the Executive Secretary of the Mississippi Pine Manufacturing Association. Meisburt may have believed that the school's civil rights advocacy mired the college's ability to carry out its academic mission. Meisburt resigned on August 15, telling media "since the college has become a rallying place for outside agitators it has forestalled any efforts on my part to build goodwill between it and our community." While noting that he remained convinced that Tougaloo is "a wonderful institution," he added, "He didn't want the college mixed up with the freedom rider business." Meisburt's resignation exemplified the rift that was forming between Beittel and the college's volunteer leadership. Beittel's position regarding the Freedom Riders had been apparent and unwavering, even since the first Riders came to Jackson weeks earlier. At the time, when questioned by the city's chief of police as to whether Tougaloo would accommodate Riders, both White and Black, Beittel responded, to the vexation of city officials, "Probably so! (Beittel, 1965).

On the evening of September 1, Beittel appeared on a local television station so that he might explain the school's position on the Civil Rights Movement, as well as his own. The program's all-White panel of interviewers interrogated Beittel and painted him to be an extremist with communist leanings. Like many White Mississippians of the day, they erroneously associated the work of the NAACP with the infiltration of communist propaganda. The men asked several questions regarding Beittel's connections, associations, and

memberships. They were also critical of Beittel's support of students who challenged the segregated public venues that were strewn about Jackson, including the bus stations and libraries. They questioned him on the college's policy of "allowing civil rights activities on the part of students, and of doing such strange things as allowing the Freedom Riders to stay at the college when they had all returned to Mississippi for their arraignment in the local courts" (Salter, 1987, p. 6).

Much of the questioning related to Tougaloo's history of hosting groups of mixed races. This practice was distressing to many White Mississippians. "Dr. Beittel freely acknowledged that two interracial groups of distinguished churchmen had enjoyed Tougaloo's hospitality. Unfortunately some of each group were arrested before leaving Jackson" (Campbell & Rogers, 1979, p. 198). Beittel told the questioners that, "We served as a host for them as we would for you. It is the policy of the school to be hospitable" ("We are Proud of President Beittel," 1961, pp. 1-3).

Throughout the questioning Beittel remained tranquil and subdued, keeping a tone that must have exasperated the program's hosts. In his responses, Beittel was demonstrating his own leadership style, while defending the right of Tougaloo's students and faculty to protest in public spaces of Jackson (Salter, 1987, p. 6)

A week after the interview, Beittel wrote to his friend, Dr. Emory Ross, who was a college trustee, as well as a director of the Phelps Stokes Fund. In the

note, Beittel described the interview and the reaction of his allies from throughout the Jackson area.

Last week I was invited to participate in a kind of “meet the press” panel on one of the local TV stations. Some of my friends were afraid that the affair was a set-up simply to give the college unfavorable publicity and perhaps to get my scalp...I received a great many telephone calls and letters of commendation from both the Negro [sic] and white communities. (Beittel’s letter to Ross, September 7, 1961)

Maria Lowe (2007), in her article “An ‘Oasis of Freedom’ in a ‘Closed Society’: The Development of Tougaloo College as a Free Space in Mississippi’s Civil Rights Movement, 1960 to 1964,” claims that Beittel, in this interview, accomplished even more. She notes that he, in his own way, “signaled to movement supporters and foes alike that Tougaloo College was, unlike any other college in the state, a unique movement-friendly institution” (Lowe, 2007, p. 147). She also notes that, in this public defense of Tougaloo’s participation in the Civil Rights Movement, Beittel was opening a door to those who might be interested in teaching at a school that was “dedicated to both racial justice and academic rigor in the most staunchly segregated state in the Deep South” (Lowe, 2007, p. 148).

The knowledge of Tougaloo’s outreach to African Americans who were involved in the struggle inspired John Salter, a native of Arizona, and an experienced civil rights protester and community organizer, to seek a position at Tougaloo. Salter, following the advice of Glen Smiley of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, wrote to Beittel requesting a teaching job at Tougaloo. Without a

formal interview, Beittel hired Salter over the phone. “Tougaloo needed me, and we went there” (Salter, 2005).

In late August of 1961, Salter and Eldri headed to Mississippi, where Salter was to begin his new position as Professor of Sociology and American Government at Tougaloo College. Salter recalls the drive to Mississippi, and the astonishment of entering a culture that seemed unfamiliar to them both. The strangeness of their entry into territory unfamiliar to them is best exemplified by an encounter with a White man at a Louisiana gasoline station. The business’s patron, in an attempt to be humorous, pronounced “the latest Kennedy joke,” as Salter describes it. “How can Kennedy expect to get a man on the moon when he can’t even get a busload of niggers [sic] across Mississippi?” (Salter, 1981).

Salter also recounts the frightful greeting of two armed toll-collectors on the Mississippi side of the “rickety” bridge at Vicksburg, over which Salter and his wife crossed the Mississippi River. Of that moment, Salter states,

But I had the feeling that we were crossing into another world, into another country, and that certainly proved to be the case. I will never forget that initial entrance into Mississippi; archaic border guards dressed somewhat haphazardly in uniforms, and it was midnight. They stopped us and collected the toll, and looked us over very carefully. (Salter, 1981)

The incident, occurring as it did, in the dark of night on a desolate road, must have been foreboding to Salter. Now many years later, the event holds a foreshadowing quality of the troubles that awaited the young couple at Tougaloo.

Ironically, Salter's tenure at Tougaloo began on the first year anniversary of Beittel's appointment as Tougaloo's president.

We got there on the first day of September 1961, and it was ungodly hot and humid. Furthermore, I couldn't seem to understand anybody, white or black, and it took four and five days before I was able to do that. (Salter, 2005)

Salter took little time in getting oriented to his new surroundings. Soon after his arrival at Tougaloo Salter began setting the foundations for the Jackson Movement.

Over the next two years, Salter, along with Medgar Evers and Reverend Edwin King, directed the Jackson Movement. Beittel, by offering employment to a self-acknowledged activist, made possible Salter's entry into Mississippi's civil rights struggle. It is inconceivable to image what the Jackson Movement would have been without Salter's involvement and guidance.

Salter's entrance coincided with the arrival of an incoming class of culturally and racially diverse students at Tougaloo. That fall, the school accepted and enrolled three international students from Nigeria, Panama, and Hong Kong, as well as two exchange students [Claudette Bovell, Onwunta I. Kalu, Reva Richards, Joseph Hung, and Etlin Blandchard]. Moreover, two *white students*, Joan Trumpauer and Charlotte Phillips, became, according to Beittel, "the first white outsiders to enroll in the Negro college since it was founded six years after the Civil War. (Beittel, 1965).

Trumpauer's and Phillip's matriculation at Tougaloo created a firestorm of publicity, even being reported throughout the country and around the globe. The *Associated Press* and the *United Press International* wired the story to its respective papers, generating an interest in the welfare of Trumpauer and Phillips. *The Washington Post*, in its story "Two White Girls Enter Mississippi Negro College," while quoting Beittel, detailed the welcoming that the students received, especially from Jackson's African American community. "There have been no incidents at the college, and the girls have received congratulatory messages from several Negro [sic] church and lay groups" (as cited in "Two White Girls Enter Mississippi Negro College," 1961, p. A28).

Jackson's newspapers, the *State Times*, the *Clarion Ledger*, and the *Jackson Daily News*, also detailed the pair's enrollment, which disconcerted the White Jacksonians who detested and shunned the advent of interracial education. Local officials, believing that the state's constitution prohibited desegregated schooling, demanded investigations. Hinds County Sheriff, J. R. Gilfoxy, as well as Bill Waller, the county's attorney, launched inquiries, though their efforts were thwarted by Beittel, who refused to succumb to the pressures of local officers. Beittel, by discovering a technicality regarding the date of the state's constitution, outsmarted those who believed that Tougaloo, in admitting the Trumpauer and Phillips, had broken the law. "It looks as though we are abiding by our charter, a contract issued by the state of Mississippi. The segregation statutes may be a violation of our charter because we were first" (as cited in "First Outsiders: Two White Women Enroll at Tougaloo," 1961, p. B1).

When contacted by *United Press International* regarding the issue, Beittel defended the value of integrated education, noting that the college's faculty is "half white and half black," while adding that the children of some White faculty members attend classes at the historically Black school. He explained that the school was obeying Mississippi's law, while operating within the school's spirit and mission.

He said the two women were admitted under the school's charter, which stated the institution was established for the education of all Mississippi citizens "irrespective of their religious tenets and conducted in the most liberal principles for the benefit of our citizens in general." ("Whites to Attend Tougaloo," 1961, p. C1)

Here again, Beittel demonstrated a willingness to challenging those charged with upholding Mississippi law if he viewed the decrees as unjust and lacking evenhandedness.

By the time that fall classes began at Tougaloo, there were few civil rights activities going on in Jackson or throughout the state. The allure of the Freedom Riders was waning, though many of the trials were still going on, "one or two at a time" (Salter, 1987, p. 8). Sadly, the interest in the Tougaloo Nine had abated, too. There were a few volunteer workers with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee [SNCC] stationed around Mississippi, and the North Jackson NAACP Youth Council remained active, while the other youth chapters had faltered and all but disappeared. "You could read about victories as close as



Memphis and New Orleans, but nothing seemed to be happening here. Mississippi didn't seem to want to change" (Slater, 1981).

Salter, along with a small assembly of youth from the North Jackson Youth Chapter of the NAACP, went to work. While Salter, as the group's adult advisor, was organizing and recruiting membership, his wife, Eldri, took charge of the Tougaloo chapter, which ceased activity soon after the read-in. Both Salters, with the help of a few devotees, grew both chapters, while preparing them for forthcoming protests, including a Christmas boycott of Capital Street businesses and a protest against the segregated Mississippi State Fair.

Pupils from Jackson State College, including Walter Williams, former president of the school's student government, united with Tougaloo and area high school students in NAACP happenings. When Jackson State president, Jacob Reddix, fearful of any "organized resistance to racial segregation," learned of his students' "anti-segregation" engagements, he retaliated by suspending the student government. On October 6, 400 Jackson State students boycotted classes. "He [Williams] said 'dissatisfied' students met at the stadium, then paraded around the campus. Reddix said he dissolved the student government because its actions 'embarrassed' the school. There were several anti-segregation demonstrations last springs ("Jackson State Boycotted," 1961, pp. A1-A2).

By the late fall and early winter of 1961, the North Jackson Youth Council of the NAACP had experienced limited success in enlisting new members, as had the Tougaloo Chapter. Recruitment had become increasingly problematic

throughout Jackson, as the youth councils were now contending with other civil rights groups, including CORE, which had gained recognition for organizing and sponsoring the Freedom Riders. The voter registration activities of SNCC also enticed youth providing them with opportunities to make a tangible difference in the course of the struggle for civil right. Evers was particularly disheartened by his organization's failure to attract youth to their ranks. "For years he [Evers] had working almost alone to develop strong NAACP youth councils, but now he watched as black teenagers began to gravitate toward the young, hip, more aggressive men and women of SNCC and CORE" (Dittmer, 1994, p. 118).

Once Black students were enlisted and stirred to act, older African Americans, seemingly apathetic and contented with being treated subserviently by the White community, often failed to support their efforts of the Black youth. Many of the Black adults also feared the obvious repercussions of challenging White authority, which included the threat and possibility of job termination, as well as eviction. "The relatively large black middle class, composed mainly of teachers, ministers, and a small but influential group of entrepreneurs, felt threatened by the Jackson Nonviolent Movement and wanted no part of the politics of confrontation" (Dittmer, 1994, p. 117).

With an apathetic Black community, while lacking the preparation that comes from time and rehearsal, Salter, Evers, and a contingency of students decided to move forward with progressive measures intended to defeat segregation at the Mississippi State Fair. Jacksonians, both Black and White, annually supported the fair with their attendance and dollars. Fair organizers,

maintaining segregation, each year relegated three weekdays *for blacks only*. White Jacksonians enjoyed the rest of the fair's stay, including two weekends.

On October 15, the first day of the "Negro Division's" fair, Evers, now collaborating with SNCC volunteers and about group of high school and college students, demonstrated outside fairgrounds, hoping to dissuade others from attending. Jackson police, under the direction of Captain J. L. Ray, confronted the picketers with dogs. One man was bitten, as was a police officer, Henry Regions. "Police used trained dogs to scatter demonstrators after they began to sing freedom songs" ("Negroes Arrested in Demonstration, *State Times*, 1961). With the fright of being bitten by the dog, the students recoiled, organized again, and then returned to the fair's main gate, carrying signs that read "No Jim Crow for Us!" (Dittmer, 1994, p. 117). "Others, reportedly an organized group of college students, urged Negroes [sic] to ignore and boycott the fair. Some of the moved away from the gates, and several hundred Negroes, primarily youths, marched down the street" ("Negroes Arrested in Demonstration," 1961, p. C2).

Later that evening, police reported that Black youth, using ice picks, slashed the tires of fair attendees, damaging the tires of 10 to 15 event patrons. The police were unable to apprehend the minors, who fled once officers arrived. "Police chased several Negro youths away from the fairground area last night when they were spotted slashing automobile tires. Officers said that they lost the group in the darkness" ("Boycott Weapon: Tires are Slashed in Fair Incidents," 1961, pp. A1-A3). The picketing, while ineffectively hindering Blacks from attending the fair became a learning opportunity, helping Salter and Evers

prepare their students for the darkest days of the Jackson Movement, which occurred throughout 1962 and 1963.

Minnie Watson, Tougaloo archivist, acknowledged that many of Beittel's letters to/from college trustee no longer exist. She states, however, that Beittel's accomplishments during his tenure, including the growing diversity of the student body, the improvement of the campus' buildings, and the strengthening of the financial condition, demonstrated Beittel's ability as an administrator. "He [Beittel] was involved in the Movement, but that didn't keep him from the daily and weekly duties of the president. He did those things very well" (M. Watson, personal communication, December 17, 2012).

## CHAPTER VII

1962

In January of 1962, Dr. Adam Daniel Beittel was beginning his second spring semester as president of Tougaloo College. As he prepared for the upcoming term, racial unrest persevered. The Jackson Movement, while harvesting publicity for the cause, had failed to recruit older Black Jacksonians, who remained holistically listless and dispirited. During the previous year, the bulk of the heavy lifting of the Movement was carried out by the youth, who, unlike their parents, seemed willing to risk imprisonment in the name of the racial justice. The engagements of 1961, including the read-in, fair protest, as well as a limited boycott of White owned businesses in downtown Jackson, had been largely planned and carried out by Black youth, with the oversight of Evers, Mangrum, and later John Salter.

Other groups, like CORE and its Freedom Rides, and SNCC and their voter registration drives, which continued across the state's delta, had experienced triumphs, although those victories can only be credited to the hard work and dedication of Black youth and outsider adults. To date, few older Blacks Jacksonians had joined the Movement. A glimmer of hope and change occurred on January 3, when six Black men and one Black woman attempted to integrate the House Gallery of the state's Capitol Building, so that they might be present when Governor Ross Barnett delivered his *State of the State* address.

The six men and one woman, at first were in the north and south galleries, but officials asked them to sit together and they were all seated together at

the rear of the north gallery, where they were surrounded by white spectators. ("Seven Negroes Show Up to Hear Ross," 1962, p. A1)

House and Senate members, disconcerted by the presence of the African Americans, deliberate on a course of action, but eventually decided to let the Blacks stay. During Barnett's address, the "Negros [sic] smiled as Barnett denounced the Freedom Riders and other activities in the racial field" ("Mississippi Legislature Gallery Seating is Mixed," 1962, p. A1).

The following day, the House, without debate or objection, passed a measure that would require any visitor to the House Gallery to have a "permit" issued by "a member of the chamber involved. A comparable bill was introduced in the Senate, though it faced objections from Senators who argued that a designated area for African Americans should be designated if the state intended to subscribe to "separate but equal" practices. On January 16, a Black man [Jesse Harris], a Black woman [Mrs. A. M. E. Logan], and Joan Trumpauer, a White student from Tougaloo College, requested permits for seating in the House Gallery. Harris was denied a permit, while Trumpauer was told by a capitol receptionist that "the passes were only for niggers [sic]" ("Conditions in Mississippi called 'disgrace to United States,'" 1962). Later that day, Harris and Logan gained entry to the Senate Gallery. Their attendance was so disquieting to state senators that they passed a bill that earmarked both galleries for *whites only*.

Two Negroes [sic], Jessie Harris and Mrs. Logan, arrived at the Capitol while the Senate was in recess to allow its rules committee to pass on the

resolution. Two minutes later Mr. Harris and Mrs. Logan, along with other visitors, were forced to leave the Senate when an executive session was called. They departed from the Capitol. ("Mississippi Places a Curb on Capitol," 1962, p. D1)

While many older Blacks in Mississippi remained essentially silent on the recent happening, African Americans from outside of the state protested in injustice of the segregation in state-owned buildings that are maintained by the tax dollars of both Black and White citizens. Two NAACP associations from the Northern Virginian/Washington, D.C. area wrote to Barnett and to President Kennedy, asking that both intervene. While asking Kennedy to "move with haste and conclusiveness toward a solution to this matter so that this country might escape the sorrow and shame that such an action would bring upon it," they asked Barnett to veto any segregationist legislation. Relating to pending legislation regarding the treatment of Blacks in the capitol's galleries, they noted, "it is sad and more regrettable that such a thing would even be mentioned in this age of progress" ("Stop Mississippi, Citizens tell JFK," 1962, p. B2).

Following Ann Moody's graduation at Natchez in the spring of 1962, Moody began her transition to Tougaloo, which was accompanied by consternation and anxiety. Tougaloo had a well-established reputation, and Moody was not sure that she was prepared for such a move. She did not allow her trepidation to alter her decision to go to what some called "Cancer College," and she arrived there in the fall of 1963. Jeffrey A. Turner (2010) details her

uncertainties and reservations, as she progressed from Natchez to Tougaloo.

Turner writes:

Tougaloo was a different world, however: It was large and spacious. There was evenly cut grass everywhere and huge old oak trees with lots of hanging moss. More notable to Moody was the preponderance of “high yellow” students and the presence of white faculty members. An African American student who had never studied under a white teacher, Moody found the white instructors especially intimidating, though she adjusted to the new academic environment. (p.19)

Moody and her classmates had few reasons for compromising in the issues facing them. The days of cafeteria clashes were over. Moody and her friends were dealing with a different type of opponents. Their new rivals had no motivation to negotiation. Suddenly, they were dealing with issues that were wrong. In addition, they were facing adversaries who cared little about concessions. Both sides were worlds apart. Their differences would be settled in other ways. Of the necessity to take bold action, Moody states, “The mere fact that I was a black person limited me as a human being in other people’s eyes. So, it was very important for me to do something about correcting this injustice” (Moody, 1985).

In Tougaloo, Moody discovered a place where she could contribute to the struggle of ending racial discrimination. She, like others, found Tougaloo well equipped to nurture the Movement and those who participated in it.



In late February and early March, Dr. Otto Nathan, a retired professor from New York University and former professor at Princeton University, at the invitation of Beittel and Dr. Ernst Borinski, delivered several lectures on the Tougaloo campus. Nathan, a native of Germany, escaped his home country, as did Borinski, as Adolf Hitler rose to power. Nathan, recognized for his friendship with Albert Einstein, whom he befriended at Princeton, as well as his public reproaches of Mississippi Senator, James O. Eastland, often rebuked Eastland's work on the Senate's Internal Security Subcommittee, a body, along with the House Un-American Activities Committee, that investigated communist infiltration of the United States, often destroying reputations and careers. Nathan's rebuke of both concerned White Jacksonians, who believed Nathan to be a communist, agitator, and initiator of misfortune. They believed that Beittel, by inviting Nathan to speak at Tougaloo, was instigating trouble, stoking flames of discontentment among Black students and the city's African American community.

A synopsis of one of Nathan's addresses appeared in the *Jackson Daily News*. The account further alienated Beittel from White Jacksonians. "Nathan told the group the amendment [The First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution] guarantees 'political freedom to express our feelings as we want to' and to 'engage as freely as the Constitution says in political activity without being called to the government to account'" ("Dr. Otto Nathan Jumps on Communist Probers," 1962, pp. A1-A3).

Beittel did not retreat from the *Nathan controversy*. While he could have remained in the background, blaming or crediting someone else with Nathan's

request to speak at Tougaloo, Beittel accepted the criticism, as he had done the previous year, with the arrival of the Freedom Riders and the enrollment of White students at the college. Beittel even introduced Nathan at all three of Nathan's lectures, at which Nathan received an ovation by Tougaloo students.

Beittel's decision to bring Nathan to Tougaloo, a move that was viewed as provocative by Jackson's White community, angered many who alleged Tougaloo to be little more than a *cancer college*.

In the past year, Tougaloo College has been a gathering place for left-wing ministers who invited themselves into the now discredited "Freedom Riders" effort. It is known to have at least several ultra-liberal professors; and it is widely known that the major part of its faculty and student body are members of the NAACP, 60 percent of whose officers and directors are active in front organizations. ("Dr. Otto Nathan Jumps on Communist Probers," 1962, pp. A1-A3)

On April 20, the day after four Black youth were arrested for sitting in the "whites only" section of a Jackson bus, Evers, still struggling to attain the support of the city's Black community, while attempting to unify students from various organizations and schools, called upon the Black Jacksonians, as well as White sympathizers, to boycott the city's bus service, which, though in defilement of federal law, operated segregated buses. Evers, at a mass meeting, told the Black community that "the time has come for unrestricted use of public facilities, such as parks and libraries...and the time has come for the removal of humiliating

segregation signs in train depots, and the end of segregated seats on buses” (as cited in Williams, 2011, p. 205).

Evers also faulted the bus service for discriminatory hiring practices. “City bus officials were asked to discontinue all discriminatory policies and practices pertaining to seating arrangements, hiring of drivers and other personnel, courtesies to all passengers regardless of race, and removal of signs designating separation according to race” (“Bus Boycott Sought,” 1962, p. E6). The boycott was short lived and produced limited achievements. Following legal action by the NAACP, the *Whites Only* signs were removed from the city’s busses.

The citizens of Jackson’s Black community failed to support the boycott, possibly in light of the calamity that occurred days earlier, when a Black military police officer stationed in Fort Richie, Maryland, Roman Ducksworth, was killed when he refused to surrender his seat to a local police officer, William Kelly, in Taylorsville, Mississippi. Ducksworth was on urgent leave to visit his wife who was suffering the complications of her pregnancy with the couple’s sixth child. It is believed that Kelly bashed Ducksworth’s head with a club, before shooting him through the heart. Although Ducksworth was weaponless and defenseless, his death was ruled a “justifiable homicide,” and Kelly was declared a local hero. “Killing blacks was not viewed as a crime by many white Mississippians. For many it was viewed as a patriotic act, an expression of Mississippi Values” (Dickerson & Alston, 2009, p. 136).

Moody, then finishing her first spring semester at Tougaloo, following the example of her contemporaries, also challenged segregation of area buses,

when she and a classmate, Rose [last name unknown] sat in the *Whites only* waiting room at the Jackson Trailways Station. While the ticket manager ignored Moody and her friend, other passengers taunted them. One man, an apparent drunkard, nearly accosted Rose, but was subdued by Moody's glare. Both Moody and Rose escaped without harm, eventually catching a ride from a passing African American.

The drunk walked up behind her [Rose] and held the bottle up as though he was going to hit her on the head. All the time, I was looking him straight in the face as if to say, "Would you really hit her?" Rose knew someone was behind her. She wouldn't have been able to talk or act normal if someone in the station threatened to shoot her if she didn't. The drunkard saw that I was pleading with him. He cursed me, throwing the bottle on the floor, and breaking it. (Moody, 1968, p. 279)

Moody acknowledges that her studies suffered when she was most involved in the Jackson Movement. Her acknowledgement of such, contradicts others, including Beittel, who claimed that students were only bettered by their participation in the protests, and that their grades were not negatively impacted.

Of her suffering grades, Moody writes:

I had really wanted to do well in all my subjects, but I had become so wrapped up in the Movement that by the time mid-semester grades came out, I had barely a one-point average. Other students who had gotten involved were actually flunking. I started concentrating more on my work—with little success. (Moody, 1968, p. 271)

On June 2, four protesters, all members of the Jackson Nonviolent Movement, including three Black men [Robert Talbert, Willie Alleng, and Charles Ray], as well as Peter Stoner, a White 22-year-old Pennsylvania native and student at Tougaloo College, were arrested and charged with “breach of the peace,” for picketing on the steps of the Jackson Post Office. The group carried signs reading, “support academic freedom” and “stay off the buses.” The former message referenced the state’s attempt to seize land currently held by historically Black colleges that supported desegregation. The latter referenced the ongoing bus boycott of the city’s public bus service. The four argued that state and local police have no jurisdiction on the grounds of the post office, which is located on federal land. “They contend Jackson City police exceeded their authority in making arrests on federal property” (Trumpauer, 1962, pp. 6-8).

With the arrests occurring on federal property, the protesters were probably challenging previous declarations by the U.S. Justice Department, which clarified the conditions under which local police could make arrests on properties owned by the federal government.

Before the June 2 demonstration, the Justice Department had told civil-rights groups here that the federal government has exclusive jurisdiction over federal property. It was pointed out that the local police may arrest only in such unusual circumstances as “hot pursuit” or to serve a warrant for a previously committed crime. (“Mississippi Cops Arrest Rights Advocates on U.S. Property,” 1962, pp. 5-6).

Again, Tougaloo, with Stoner's arrest, gleaned unwelcomed publicity that reinforced the beliefs of those who supposed that the school was flirting with outside agitators.

By the month's end, in a move possibly related to the aforementioned apprehensions, Assistant Attorney General, Burke Marshall, and James Symington, Administrative Assistant to Robert Kennedy, the nation's Attorney General, met with Jackson's mayor. The meeting, which occurred on June 27, according to Marshall and Symington, "did not have any particular significance" ("Mayor, Civil Rights Leaders Confer Here," 1962, p. A1). Marshall also noted that the visit did not directly relate to the incarcerations of those who protested at the post office. "During a short talk with newsmen, Marshall refused to comment on the city's arrest and conviction of four pickets at the federal building here a few weeks ago. He said the city-federal relationship was too complex to discuss" ("Mayor, Civil Rights Leaders Confer Here," 1962, p. A1).

On July 16, Beittel delivered a message of optimism, while attending a ministerial conference in Lexington, Kentucky. The attendees, most of whom were clergy of the United Church of Christ, heard Beittel's reports of "quieter protests," as he shared stories that suggested an auspicious rise of tolerance throughout Jackson.

And only recently there was an interesting incident when a bus driver stopped and asked a policeman to arrest a Negro [sic] woman he said was sitting in the wrong place. The cop said, "I don't see any reason why I

should arrest her,” and he didn’t. (“Tougaloo Protests Quieter,” 1962, p. B2)

The day before Marshall and Symington visited Jackson’s mayor, as James Meredith was celebrating his 29th birthday, he received word that the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeal had ruled that he should be admitted to the University of Mississippi. Meredith, a Black junior at Jackson State College, hoped to complete his senior year at Ole Miss. The court’s decision followed 17 months of legal maneuvering by the state, as it struggled to maintain segregation at the state’s premiere university.

Meredith’s ties to Tougaloo ran deep. He was a friend to many of the school’s students, particularly those who had worked with him on numerous civil rights campaigns. Additionally, he had helped to organize and participated in the minister’s conference in 1961, which was held at Beittel’s home. He was also a friend and confidant to Evers, who had, himself, attempted to enroll at Ole Miss in 1954. Both Evers and Meredith could have been admitted to other schools, but chose Ole Miss, thereby attempting to integrate Mississippi’s flagship school, a move that both deemed beneficial to future Black students.

Why was he [Evers] so adamant about attending the University of Mississippi? After all, there were many law schools, some of them all white, across the nation that would have accepted his application without much fanfare. The reason lay in what the University of Mississippi represented in the South and what integration this behemoth of racial

segregation would mean for the NAACP and the over movement for equality in Mississippi. (Williams, 2011, p. 74).

Despite the federal court's authority and jurisdiction over such matters, Mississippi, under Barnett's directions, defied their orders, until they had exhausted all legal remedies. On September 30, President John F. Kennedy, authorized the military to take whatever measures necessary to ensure the state's compliance of the court's directives in admitting Meredith. In response, Barnett, speaking to those gathered for an Ole Miss Football game in Jackson, proclaimed "I love Mississippi...I love her people...her customs" (as cited in McGee, 2013, p. 68).

The next evening, Meredith, under the protection on the state police and federal marshals, arrived at Ole Miss, as White students, incensed by the unfolding scene, accosted police by hurling bottles and cans, while others overturned cars and set fires. "Within hours, the riot elevated into an armed insurrection. Photographers were attacked and beaten, while some of them wandered through the streets, begging for their lives and holding out their smashed cameras" (McGee, 2013, p. 70).

The attack turned deadly as a French reporter, Paul Guihard, was shot with a .38 caliber bullet that severed his spine, and then lodged in his heart. The other victim, Ray Gunter, a repairman for an Oxford jukebox company, and a participant in the riot, died after being shot in the forehead.

After receiving reports of the violence at Ole Miss, President John F. Kennedy, seeing no other options, and knowing that all other measures had



failed, ordered military troops to support the marshals, ensuring, once and for all, that Meredith be admitted to the school.

After word reached Kennedy that the marshals were in danger, he ordered the army to deploy 20,000 National Guard troops immediately from Tennessee. Six hundred and fifty troops and 120 Jeeps and trucks were dispatched from Memphis, but the drive took six hours instead of two hours because segregation loyalist slowed incoming traffic with large logs and railroad ties. The insurrection on campus was the largest federal-state crisis since the Civil War. (McGee, 2013, p. 70)

Once on the campus, Meredith was assigned to a corner dorm room in Baxter Hall. There, he made his bed, read the newspaper, and prepared for the next day, when he was to be admitted to the University (Meredith, 2012, p. 127). Meredith felt a sense of accomplishment, after having gone through so many adversities to get this far. "I felt I had accomplished my objective. I was an accomplished fact now—I was on the campus and nothing would make me leave" (Meredith, 2012, p. 128). Despite the bloodshed, violence, and the fortified confrontation, Meredith was finally registered at the University of Mississippi.

As the state's segregationists reeled from Meredith's enrollment at Ole Miss, feeling that the school had been sullied by his presence, Beittel's administrative duties at Tougaloo continued. On October 16 and 17, the college's Board of Trustees met on the campus, while discussing numerous issues regarding the school's decreasing enrollment, as well as the institution's increasing need for competent faculty. Beittel told the directors that the school's

enrollment had dropped slightly since the fall of 1961, though he believed that the decline “might be due to the raising of standards and the increasing costs of tuition, board, and room” (Board Minutes, October 16-17, 1962).

The school’s Dean of Students, A. A. Branch, reported that the college, thanks to Beittel’s initiatives in expanding recruitment, had experienced an increase in the diversity of its student body, though this disheartened many White Jacksonians who viewed “outsiders” as interlopers. Even still, the foundation of such diversity fulfilled one of Beittel’s administrative goals.

Ninety percent of our students come from the State of Mississippi with the lowest family income in the nation. Other students come from 17 states and two foreign areas. We have four white students enrolled this semester, all transfer students. Two are from Oberlin College, one from Duke University, and one from Connecticut College for Women. (Board Minutes, October 16-17, 1962)

The trustees also discussed the need for better faculty, while Beittel noted that the Southern Association of College and Schools wanted all department chairs to have doctorate degrees. Beittel also mentioned the lack of adequate housing for new faculty, and the school’s inability to pay competitive salaries. He also cited the role that the college was playing in the Jackson Movement, and in the struggle of equality throughout the state. “The campus is the one place where interracial meetings can be held freely in the State of Mississippi” (Board Minutes, October 16-17, 1962).

It was also announced that the construction of the president's home had been completed at a cost of \$65,000, the school would soon begin building a new student union, and that the college had received a \$12,591 gift from the Ford Foundation to offset the price of building faculty residences. New officers were also elected, while Dr. Lawrence L. Durgin was selected to chair the Development Committee, which would later recommend a venture with Brown University, a decision that led to Beittel's undoing (Board Minutes, October 16 - 17, 1962).

As 1962 was nearing its end, the Jackson Movement, under the leadership of Evers and Salter, was still soliciting the direct action of the city's Black community, needing their deeds to make the Movement fruitful. The tide may have changed with the enrollment of Meredith at Ole Miss, which was seen as a victory for the Civil Rights Movement, though his enrollment came only following the incursion of the federal government, and at the antagonism of Mississippi's officials. Regardless, Meredith was admitted and was now a student at Oxford. These facts revealed the vulnerability of the segregationists and the eventuality of integration.

This Meredith victory, the achievements of the boycotting of White-owned businesses in Greenwood, the beginning of the Christmas shopping season, the coming together of volunteers from various groups under Salter's and Evers' leadership, as well as the lack of jeopardy necessary from those shunning stores created the environment needed for a successful boycott of Jackson's downtown businesses. O'Brien (2013) notes that Salter and Evers, in spite of the Meredith

victory, were aware of the hesitancy of older Blacks to engage in the Movement. In the case of the boycott, they were asking the Black community “not to do something, which required less risk” than engaging in a more visible protest (p. 89).

The boycott, originally scheduled to begin on December 3, was delayed after the NAACP national leadership defaulted on their earlier pledge to secure bonds for the paying bails, should boycott picketers be arresting. Considering the city’s past handling of protesters, Salter and Evers were confident that many of their volunteers would be incarcerated. Although the NAACP had promised the funds to Evers for this use, the organization’s management reneged at the last minute, forcing Evers and Salter to delay the launch of the boycott. “A series of hurried telephone calls resulted in bail money for six pickets, the funds supplied by Southern Conference Education Fund, the Gandhi Society, and the New York attorney Victor Rabinowitz.” The boycott began on December 12, with the arrest of Salter, Eldri Salter, and four Black Tougaloo students as they marched along Capitol Street. “As expected, police immediately arrested the group, which was soon out on bail” (Dittmer, 1994, p. 158).

The local media, as it often did, condemned the activists, belittling their actions, while serving as a voice for the city’s management. This was particularly true of articles appearing in the *Jackson Daily News*, which frequently criticized those who challenged the customs associated with racial segregation. This was exemplified by Bill Coppenbarger’s initial report on the boycott and the arrests, in which he lambasted the Salters and the students, calling them “racial agitators,”

who were guilty of “petty harassment.” Coppenbarger also derided the “mixed-race sextet” for “damage inflicted on the city,” explaining that the boycott suffered numerous financial burdens upon Jackson, primarily in the costs associated with “police action, court trial, and legal action.” “It is to Jackson’s credit and that of the Negro [sic] population here that such agitator-inspired flare-ups are not noticed, nor are they effective, except for the nuisance value” (Coppenbarger, 1962).

Two days after the apprehensions, Thompson, speaking to the annual meeting of the Mississippi Power and Light Company, threatened to sue for “a million [dollars] or more,” remarked on the arrest of the Salters and the Tougaloo pupils, while repeating a familiar mantra regarding “outside influences” upon the City of Jackson.

We are not going to have any picketing in this city, and we are going to continue this way. We picked up these people and put them in our jail, and not one of them is a native Mississippian, They are all outside agitators.

(“Mayor Calls for Support in Community Participation,” 1962, p, B1)

Thompson also promised to protect downtown businesses with “1,000 police men up and down Capitol Street,” should that be necessary (“Mayor Calls for Support in Community Participation,” 1962, p, B1).

On December 21, two weeks after the detention of the Salters and the four Tougalooans, two additional students were arrested. They were later charged with “obstructing the sidewalk,” an incitement that students claim antithetical to their constitutional rights (“Two Arrested after Picketing Downtown Area, 1962, p

A1). “The boycotters contend that their arrest for picketing violates liberties guaranteed under the First Amendment of the U. S. Constitution. This guarantees freedom of religion, speech, press, peaceful assembly, and petition” (Press Release, *Southern Conference Educational Fund*, December 27, 1962).

Unlike previous protests of the Jackson Movement, Jackson’s Black community acquiesced to the students’ request, boycotting downtown’s businesses and choosing instead to buy from Black shop owners. Salter considered the opening weeks of the boycott, which continued into the next year, to be 60% effective. Beittel, for his part, continued to support Salter, as well as the activism of the Tougaloo students, making sure that missed classes were excused and that additional time was allocated for assignments and tests.

To the growing dismay of the college’s directors, Beittel continue to support the social activism of a few students and faculty. The trustees, many of whom were affiliated with Northern foundations and corporations, were anxious for Tougaloo gain recognition as a place of academic excellence and not a haven for social agitators. “As the struggle moved forward, the board became less and less supportive for us and what we were doing. They didn’t like the publicity that we were receiving and were especially nervous about our activities being reported in the Northern newspapers” (J. Garner, personal communication, February 16, 2012).

## CHAPTER VIII

1963

In January of 1963, as activists in the Jackson Movement were engaging in a fruitful boycott of downtown's Capitol Street businesses, Dr. Adam Daniel Beittel was preparing Tougaloo College for the upcoming spring semester. The tasks before him included the hiring of a chaplain who would also serve as the school's Dean of Students. At the suggestion of Dr. Ernst Borinski, Beittel contacted Reverend R. Edwin King, Jr., a native Mississippian, a graduate of Millsaps College and Boston University, and a *non-conference member*, yet ordained clergy in the Methodist Church. King had a reputation of racial agitation that, while offending many White Mississippians, was agreeable to Beittel. "He knew of my background, and was willing to fill the vacancy with me" (E. King, personal communication, March 6, 2012). King accepted the position, and he and his wife, Jeanette, came home to Mississippi, after having been in Massachusetts for several years, while King completed his divinity degree (E. King, personal communication, March 6, 2012).

In King, Beittel had another faculty member willing to oppose segregation and the injustices that come with it. Through the position at Tougaloo, King had an avenue to enter the Movement, and he could do so with Beittel's permission and best wishes.

While there was no unity at Tougaloo, with differing opinions about the level at which faculty and students should be protesting, we [King, Salter, and students involved in the college's NAACP chapter] had Beittel's

sanctions. He not only wanted the students involved in the Movement, but he thought that the civil rights activities contributed to their education. He was confident that the Civil Rights Movement would ultimately transform American education...for the good. (King, personal communication, March 5, 1012)

Salter (1987) notes that there were those on the faculty that believed that the “civil rights endeavors impaired academic matter” (p. 60). With King as the school’s new Dean of Students, Beittel had another faculty member and administrator who shared in the belief that students should be allowed to protest should they wish. By this point, it was apparent that there was a larger divide in the faculty. With this growing divide, Salter adjusted various strategies, including his response to his arrest or the arrest of those who protested with him. To placate those on the faculty who found fault with Salter’s activism and the amount of time it took from academic affairs, Salter made sure that those arrested were promptly released on bail, so that they could return to class. “It we went to jail, we had to get out as soon as possible” (Salter, 1987, p. 60).

As King renewed ties in Mississippi, beginning his duties at Tougaloo and joining Salter and Evers in leading the movement, more and more students, from both local colleges and area high schools, were joining the cause. This infusion of youthful participation and vitality may have been exhilarated by Clarence Mitchell’s address at a mass meeting in early May, an event that coincided with the anniversary of the 1954 Supreme Court decision that ordered southern states to desegregate their public schools. Mitchell, the director of the Washington D.C.



bureau of the NAACP, was especially admired by those who heard his messages of hope and change. "Clarence's speeches were always well received, but there was something in the air that night" (Evers, 1967, p. 256). Evers' wife, Myrlie, observed that the occasion was "the final build-up of activity and tension" in the Jackson Movement. Evers chose that evening, just following Mitchell's address, to launch a new boycott that targeted several companies that were particularly bigoted in their treatment of Black customers.

Medgar announced the plan of a special committee to boycott two products heavily dependent on Negro [sic] patronage, Barq's soft drinks and Hart's bread, as well as a Jackson department store, McRae's, whose customers were mostly Negroes. All three had been chosen for the same reason: they had made large contributions to the White Citizens Councils. (Evers, 1967, p. 257)

This boycott's accomplishments inspired additional youth to join the Movement, while unsettling White Jacksonians who feared that the city's African Americans were coalescing to defeat the traditions of Jim Crow's Mississippi. "Inspired by the new sense of unity, college students began talking of sit-ins at the lunch counters in Woolworth's, Walgreen's, and H. L. Green's" (Evers, 1969, p. 257).

At the April meeting of the college's directors, college trustees received their first official report on the partnership with Brown University, which was to be implemented in 1964. On April 22 and 23, Daniel W. Earle, Director of Development at Brown University, told the board that Tougaloo needed to greatly improve its relations with its alumni, while instructing the college to compile

addresses of past graduates, and publishing an Alumni Directory that might be used as a “tool” for financial develop. He told the directors, “Attention must be given to the 10% of the alumni who are in a financial position to contribute the largest amounts.” While these directives seemed benign, it signaled the beginnings of Brown’s influence over the college’s directors. Earle was one of several representatives from Brown who inspected the school’s records, while examining the buildings and facilities, in preparation for the upcoming alliance with Brown. “Brown’s people were all over the place, looking at everything they could find. It made a lot of people nervous, especially those who had allied with Beittel” (M. Watson, personal communication, December 16, 2013).

Throughout early 1963, local NAACP leadership, including Salter and King, complained that the organization’s national officers were too indifferent to the Jackson Movement, providing little sustenance and few resources, lessening the probability of the long-term attainment of equal rights. The organization’s strategy took a noticeable shift in mid-May, when the organization began supplying more money, people, and legal aid, all of which were needed by Evers, Salter, and King. “The national office changed course abruptly and made Jackson a priority, cranking out public relations releases, supplying bond money for picketers, and eventually flooding the city with top NAACP officials” (Dittmer, 1994, p. 160). The precipitous decision to invest in the Jackson Movement may have been a reaction to the publicity garnered by SNCC’s Birmingham Movement. As the struggles continued throughout the South, civil rights

organizations began contending the monetary donations that were often driven by news reports of boycotts, protests, and sit-ins.

The entrance of NAACP national officials, including Gloster B. Current, the agency's director of chapters, brought better organization. With Current's advisement, the newly formed Citizens Committee for Human Rights rejected Thomson's claims that Jackson's Blacks were "satisfied with present conditions," while arguing that "we are indeed extremely dissatisfied with the status and we hereby call for an immediate end to segregation and discrimination in our community" ("Mixing Group Seeks Jackson Negotiations," 1963, p. B2). As anticipated, Thompson shunned the committee's demands for equality, remarking that "he would not meet with any NAACP, CORE, or other outside agitators," while agreeing to meet with "responsible local negro [sic] citizens" ("Mixing Group Seeks Jackson Negotiations," 1963, p. B2).

At a mass meeting on the night on May 21, a gathering of about 600 attendees selected 14 representatives to negotiate with Thompson, in hopes of reaching a settlement that would end segregation in public places, while avoiding bloodshed and violence. The attendees recommended that the delegation hold firm to the Movement's original demands of integrated public spaces, while also requesting the hiring of Black officers to the city's police force, a move that the group believed might afford African Americans defense from police brutality.

Aware of the broad support in the black community, Mayor Thompson resorted to tactics of divide and conquer. He agreed for the first time to meet with a black delegation but eliminated ten of the movement's

representatives and replaced them with such reactionaries as Percy Greene and Jackson State president Jacob Reddix, men whom he could count on for support. (Dittmer, 1994, p. 161)

Greene, though the founder, publisher, and editor, of the state's foremost Black newspaper, the *Jackson Advocate*, rejected the cause of the Jackson Movement, as well as those involved in it, claiming that Mississippi's Blacks should "change current methods of demanding equality" ("Negro Editor Blast NAACP Mix Program," 1963, p. A1). He and Reddix were opponents of the Movement and its leadership.

Greene charged that the American Negro [sic] is being misled by Martin Luther King, Roy Wilkins, and Aaron Henry. He said radical groups sprinkled with Communists and "20<sup>th</sup> century carpetbaggers" make "stupid, inept calls for the Negro [sic] to resort to violence and bloodshed." ("Negro Editor Blast NAACP Mix Program," 1963, p. A1).

On May 27, after both sides approved the delegation, 16 representative of Jackson's Black community met with Thompson at city hall. Nothing progressive came from the meeting. The "complete text of the Mayor Allen Thompson's address to Negro leaders" was printed in the follow day's edition of the *Jackson Daily News*. In part, Thompson said,

The present agitators, on the part of paid agitators and organized pressure groups threatening economic boycotts, civil disobedience, mass marches designed to disrupt the normal business activities, and create mass hysteria, in order to force bargaining on the right of individual business

firms, can only lead to distrust. (“Text of Mayor’s Talk to Negroes,” 1963, p. A1)

In spite of Thompson’s discourses of unity and togetherness, the mayor rejected the demands of the Black community. Though he had made assuaging overtures in the days before the meeting, Thompson did nothing to conciliate the delegation. “The next day, the Jackson movement took to the streets” (Dittmer, 1994, p. 161).

Since the first publicized *student-led* sit-in, which occurred at a *five and dime* in Greensboro, North Carolina, in February of 1960, the Woolworth lunch counter had become emblematic of the struggle against racial injustice. Despite pressure from civil rights organizations and leaders, the F. W. Woolworth Company had maintained segregated lunch counters at its stores throughout the South, including its location in downtown Jackson. Consequently, it became the next target for Salter and his youth.

On the morning of May 28, three Tougaloo students [Pearlena Lewis, Memphis Norman, and Ann Moody] entered Jackson’s Woolworth’s on Capitol Street about 11 o’clock. In keeping with Salter’s plan, the group, attempting to look as inconspicuous as possible, perused the shelves, seemingly looking for items to purchase. At a prearranged time, 11:15, the students rendezvoused at the segregated lunch counter, where they took seats in the *Whites only* section. A few minutes, in an attempt to hinder the response of local authorities, Salter enlisted a second group of five protestors, instructing them to picket at a busy intersection just a few blocks from Woolworth’s.

Carrying their signs in paper bags, the group would arrive at the agreed-upon spot from two different directions, then pull out the signs and begin walking up and down before another targeted store. Both the picketing and the sit-in strategies contained an element of surprise, a favorite Salter tactic. (O'Brien, 2013, p. 119)

While Lewis, Norman, and Moody were taking seats at the lunch counter, the picketers, per Salter's directions, moved into position, in front of Wilson's Discount Store, just blocks from Woolworth's, where they flashed signs that read, "Jackson Needs a Bi-Racial Community." Minutes earlier, Evers had phoned Jackson's media, telling them that something related to the Jackson Movement was happening on Capitol Street. By the time the picketers displayed their signs, members of the press were there, as were police officers, who, within minutes, arrested the group for "breach of peace." King's wife, Jeanette, was one the detained, as was Margrit Garner, the wife of a Tougaloo science professor.

Meanwhile, the students at the lunch counter assumed that they, too, would be arrested and were concerned once they realized that police were keeping their positions "outside" and "in front" of the store, while refusing to go inside (O'Brien, 2013, p. 123).

Once seated, the students requested assistance from several waitresses, each of whom ignored the Black youth, averting their eyes as they passed them, possibly anticipating that their avoidance might defuse the situation. The students, anxious that they were outnumbered and that they were without police

protection, also “wondered why they weren’t being arrested” (O’Brien, 2013, p. 123).

When the waitresses pretended the new customers weren’t there, the three began writing their orders on the order form lying on the counter in front of them. Norman wrote out a request for a hamburger and a cup of coffee. One of the others asked for a soda and a piece of pie. They even wrote down prices, figured the tax, and computed the totals. (O’Brien, 2013, p. 120).

Once the staff realized that the students would not move, one of the waitresses turned out the lights over the lunch counter, closing that part of the store. The students, looking straight ahead, remained seated at the counter. For the next hour, customers heckled, jeered, and taunted the youth. The situation worsened about noon, when White students from Jackson’s Central High School entered the store, followed by employees from downtown stores, businesses, and offices. The incursion of bystanders, along with the entrance of Bennie Oliver, a former police officer and known White supremacist, escalated hostilities. Oliver attacked Norman, pulling him from his seat and kicking him in the face. Norman, clearly injured was no longer moving. “A police detective finally stepped in and arrested Oliver for assault” (Dittmer, 1994, p. 162). Norman was also arrested and was charged with disturbing the peace.

Joan Trumpauer replaced Norman, taking his seat at the counter. A White faculty member from Tougaloo, Louis Chafee, joined her. Possibly inspired by

Chafee's heroics, Salter also found a seat beside the group, now covered with mustard, ketchup, salt, pepper, and sugar.

Soon after, Mercedes Wright, a national officer of the NAACP, arrived. At first, she watched, carefully observing, so that she could provide a full report to her superiors within the organization. Her plans to be a quiet observer dissipated once she realized the danger that the students faced, particularly Lewis, who sat closest to her.

As one white woman approached Lewis with a vase, ready to hit her on the head, the short, fiery Wright intervened, screaming, "Bitch, you can hit her if you want to, but if you do, your ass is grass. She may be nonviolent," Wright yelled, "but I'm not! And if you hit her, I'm going to kick your ass! The woman put the vase down and disappeared back into the crowd. (O'Brien, 2013, p. 140)

As the sit-in was nearing its third hour, King, who had been observing, while periodically phoning Evers with updates, saw the need for intervention, as the crowd grew larger and more aggressive and antagonistic. "King began asking people at the edge of the crowd to disperse. 'Those colored girls aren't hurting anyone,' he'd say. 'Why don't you leave them along?' But the hostility and ridicule he received convinced him that his efforts were pointless" (O'Brien, 2013, p. 132).

The situation grew so desperate that Trumpauer feared for her life. "I felt sure that we could be killed. Strangely, I was not afraid. I was not worried about



it. Knowing that we had often rehearsed what to do in such circumstances brought me comfort” (J. Trumpauer, personal communication, March 14, 2012).

Fearing that the students might be killed, King phoned Beittel at Tougaloo, hoping that Beittel could persuade Woolworth’s management to intervene, ending the protest. Beittel reacted to the calls by appearing at Woolworth’s in person (E. King, personal communication, March 5, 2012).

The students and faculty, still holding their seats at the counter, were reassured by Beittel’s presence. “I knew that he was there to help, and that he would find a way to rescue us. It was a courageous thing for him to do. No one expected to see the college’s president there. We were shocked, yet comforted” (J. Trumpauer, personal communication, March 14, 2012). Moody believed that Beittel succeeded at ending the hostilities when the store’s management could not do so. She describes Beittel’s arrival at the lunch counter:

We sat there for three hours taking a beating when the manager decided to close the store because the mob had begun to go wild with stuff from the counters. He begged and begged everyone to leave. But even after fifteen minutes of begging, no one budged. They would not leave until we did. Then Dr. Beittel, the president of Tougaloo College, came running in.

He said he had just heard what was going on. (Moody, 1968, p. 290)

Beittel, once inside the store, entreated the store manager, Harold Braum, to take a firmer stance against the crowd. “You’d better do something about this!” he told Braum (as cited in O’Brien, 2013, p. 142). When Braum refused to follow Beittel’s directives, Beittel chided the police captain on the scene, John L. Ray,

telling him to “Do something or someone’s going to get killed” (as cited in O’Brien, 2013, p. 142). This warning, like the previous one, was ignored. When Braum and Ray refused to act, Beittel contacted Woolworth’s national offices, insisting that they intervene.

Beittel next went to the counter to check on the demonstrators. He then began moving back and forth between the manager’s office and the police trying to get someone to act. Eventually, Beittel recounted, a regional Woolworth’s representative arrived on the scene and went upstairs to talk to Braum. (O’Brien, 2013, p. 143)

Ultimately, Beittel convinced the regional management to close the store, but not before his students and faculty endured additional attacks and slurs. While waiting for Woolworth’s to act, Beittel, too, took a seat at the lunch counter.

Dr. Beittel headed once again toward the lunch counter. He first checked that everyone was all right; then he moved toward a seat at the far end of the counter to talk to reporters. When a huge man stopped Beittel and asked who he was, the college president glared at him sternly and kept moving. He took a seat at the counter, symbolically linking himself with the demonstrators even as the protest was drawing to a close. Ed King acknowledged that Beittel’s actions that day took great courage. He was perhaps the first college president to take part in a demonstration staged by his students against the established order. (O’Brien, 2013, p. 144)

The following day, May 29, a photograph of Beittel sitting at the lunch counter appeared on the front page of the *Jackson Daily News* (“Integrationists

Smeared,” 1963, pp. A1-A8). The publicity, unwanted by many of the college’s trustees, exasperated those who believed that Beittel should spend his time running the college, not supporting the crusading of some of the school’s faculty and students.

Two days later, Jimmy Ward, in his “Cross Roads” column in the *Jackson Daily News* criticized Evers for his absence from the Woolworth’s sit-in. Ward accused Evers, whom he called “blabbermouth,” of taking orders from outsiders, while keeping himself secure at the local NAACP headquarters. “The big blabbermouth NAACP fellow sits around headquarters smoking cigars and waits on New York to tell him what to do. If he’s so brave why does he stir up Negro [sic] children to do his squatting for him?” (“Covering the Cross Roads,” 1963, p. A1).

On June 6, as Beittel and the faculty at Tougaloo were preparing for the first day of summer classes, Beittel, King, Salter, and the trustees of the school were served notice of an injunction against them, which was issued by the Hinds County Chancery Court at Mayor Thompson’s request. The order prohibited the aforementioned, as well as representative of the NAACP and CORE, from “engaging in, sponsoring, inciting, or encouraging street parades or processions or demonstrations without a permit, unlawful blocking of the public streets or sidewalks, trespassing on complainant’s private property, congregating on the streets or public places as mobs or unlawfully picketing” (O’Brien, 2013, p. 184).

After consulting with NAACP lawyers, Salter and King prepared to defy the court’s orders. “We knew that the city had no legal standing to issue such an

order and we knew that we had to move on. We began organizing small demonstrations to test the city's willingness to enforce faulty law" (King, personal communication, March 5, 2012). The order and the publicity that followed, to the chagrin of the school's trustees and the northerner foundations that supported Tougaloo, brought more unwanted publicity to the school.

By June 11, leaders in the Jackson Movement, including Evers, Salter, and King, saw reason for optimism. The sit-in at Woolworth's, as well as the protests and mass meetings that followed had unified and energized Jackson's Black community. The events, through newspaper headlines and reports on the evening news, enlighten the nation as to what was going on in Jackson. Since the sit-in, video footage, photographs, as well as new reports that divulged the brutality of the attacks against protestors, while providing a peak into the difficulties that Black Jacksonians faced in daily life had bombarded the country, as well as its president, John F. Kennedy. On that evening, Kennedy, responding to the violence in Mississippi and Alabama, spoke to the nation, proposing civil rights legislation that would force southern states to abandon traditions that oppressed African Americans (King, personal communication, March 5, 2012).

In his speech to the nation, Kennedy called the conundrum "a moral issue, while explaining that "the question is whether all Americans are to be offered equal rights and equal opportunities, whether we are going to treat our fellow Americans as we want to be treated" (as cited in Dittmer, 1994, p. 166). Kennedy argued that action was required throughout all levels of the government. He also called upon Americans to examine the ways in which they treat others. "It is a

time to act in the Congress, in your State and local legislative body and, above all, in all of our daily lives” (as cited in “Text of Kennedy Plea for Racial Tolerance,” 1963, pp. A3-A5).

Neither Evers nor Kennedy would live to see those “equal opportunities” afforded to Mississippi’s Black citizens. Both were assassinated before the year’s end. Evers was killed in the early hours of the next morning. Kennedy was killed in late November, while on a campaign trip to Dallas.

On the night of Kennedy’s national address, Evers was murdered in his driveway as he returned home from a mass meeting. Evers’ wife, children, and neighbors heard the shotgun blast that killed Evers and attempted to save him. Their efforts failed, when Evers was pronounced dead a short time later at University Hospital (Dittmer, 1994, p. 166).

When news of Evers’ assassination reached Moody, she was at the home of David Dennis, watching television with Dennis and his wife. As the field secretary for CORE, Dennis had enlisted Moody in his agency’s projects and they had become friends. Unexpectedly, a few minutes after midnight, a television “special news bulletin” announced that Evers had been shot. “We didn’t believe what we were hearing. We just sat there staring at the TV screen. It was unbelievable. Just an hour or so earlier we were all with him” (Moody, 1968, p. 301).

Trumpauer, who had returned to Northern Virginia for a summer vacation, “heard of the killing that morning on the news” (O’Brien, 2013, p. 201). His death confirmed the risks that she and others took in their activism in Jackson. “In his

dying, I lost a dear friend and mentor. It was a reminder that any of us could be killed in Mississippi” (J. Trumpauer, personal communication, March 14, 2012)

By the next day, Jackson’s police were beginning “one of the most intensive investigations in Mississippi history” (“Find Clue to Sniper,” 1963, p. B5). That evening, Evers’ widow spoke at a mass meeting, imploring activists to fight on, and not to surrender in fear. “I do not want his death to be in vain,” she told the gathering (as cited in “Find Clue to Sniper,” 1963, p. B5). She also spoke of the danger that Evers often faced, and the anxiety that accompanied that terror. “I come here with a broken heart but I come because it is my duty. No one knows how my husband gave his life to this course. He lived with this 25 hours a day” (as cited in “Find Clue to Sniper,” 1963, p. B5). She implored that they “finish the fight,” adding that “Nothing can bring Medgar back, but the cause can live on” (O’Brien, 2013, p. 204).

On June 15, under the direction of the NAACP, Evers’ funeral was held at Jackson’s Masonic Temple. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. joined Salter and King at the funeral, where Beittel was asked to sit on the stage, being recognized as an “honored guest.” The request exemplified Beittel’s close friendship with Evers, as well as his own contribution to cause for which Evers died. Oddly, Dr. King sat among the crowd, not being recognized as a civil rights leader. “Tougaloo’s Dr. Beittel, who sat on the stage, later said that he felt uncomfortable about his presence there, given Dr. King’s exclusion, and would have gladly given up his seat” (O’Brien, 2013, p. 213).

On the morning of June 18, as civil rights activists continued to grieve for Evers and his family, Salter and King met with Jack Young, a Jackson attorney who often represented NAACP in the local courts. Salter and King discussed charges that the city had filed against them, in which both were accused of inciting a riot in the wake of Evers' funeral. After the meeting, Salter and King took a familiar route to Tougaloo, as a light rain began to fall. Both men knew of the risk they were taking, as they traveled through the city, particularly in Salter's white Rambler, which was easily identifiable by the Citizens' Council. As Salter approached an intersection on Northside Drive, he observed a car quickly approach his vehicle from one of the side streets. It appeared to both men that the car was deliberately headed right for them. An eighteen-year-old Ole Miss student named Prat Pyle, who steered his car into an oncoming vehicle, drove the car. When the car swerved to avoid hitting Pyle's car, it headed straight into Salter's Rambler. The two cars collided head on (O'Brien, 2013, p. 226).

Salter and King were both critically injured. Salter, who briefly regained consciousness, believed that King was dead, as he was unresponsive and was not moving.

I was barely conscious, I could see a group of people gathering, white people, with police and some young people, who even in my groggy state I figured were part of this whole thing. They took a good long while before they came over, and they asked me, the only conscious one, "What hospital do you want to go to?" (Salter, 2005).

Salter remembers telling the medics to take them both to the Catholic hospital, St. Dominic's. Salter was familiar with the hospital and its doctor. His daughter had been born there, and he believed that he and King would be properly cared for there. Instead, though it was farther away, both were transported to Baptist Hospital.

The ambulance, without explanation, took them not to St. Dominic but to Baptist Hospital, which was farther away. There, the two were put on stretchers and left out in the rain while the ambulance drivers told the hospital staff who they were. At first, the hospital refused to treat them.

But, fortunately, Dr. Beittel had heard about the accident, shown up at the hospital, and insisted that they be admitted. (O'Brien, 2013, p. 227)

Without Beittel's assistance, the two might have died. As he did at the Woolworth's sit-in, Beittel again proved his willingness to publically defend his faculty and students, doing whatever necessary to ensure their safety and wellbeing.

On June 19, Evers was buried with full military honors at Arlington National Cemetery. Evers was praised in Washington, D.C. with expressions that he would have never heard in Mississippi. The former national chairperson of the American Veterans Committee, Mickey Levine, described Evers as an "American hero," citing examples of Evers' patriotism and love of country. (as cited in "One thousand Attend Funeral for Evers in Arlington," 1963, p. B2).

On June 23, agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigations arrested Byron De La Beckwith of Greenwood, Mississippi. Beckwith was indicted by a



grand jury following a preliminary hearing on July 3. “Captain Ralph Hargrove, police department identification officer, testified that a fingerprint found on the telescopic sight of the rifle believed to be the murder weapon matched that of Beckwith’s right index finger” (“Beckwith Indicted in Murder,” 1963, p. A2).

By late August, Salter was disheartened with the remnants of the Jackson Movement, particular under the leadership of Evers’ brother, Charles, who secured the reigns at the NAACP after Medgar’s death. By the late summer, Salter was convinced that the Movement had been “more or less settled” (Salter, 2005).

On September 25, John Salter announced his resignation from Tougaloo College and his new position with the Southern Conference Educational Fund. That afternoon’s “Sunset Edition” of the *Jackson Daily News* identified the organization as a “pro-red outfit,” while calling Salter “Mustard Man” (“Tougaloo Professor Joins Braden,” 1963, p. A1).

It was reported in the same edition that the Disciples of Christ Churches of Mississippi were withdrawing their financial support of Tougaloo, a decision that must have angered and embarrassed Beittel. The congregations abandoned Tougaloo because of the school’s “action on demonstrations and pressing for strong civil rights” (“Church Group Cancels Support of Tougaloo,” 1963, pp. B4-B5).

In late September, with Salter on his way to North Carolina, and King recovering from the car accident and the operations that followed, Beittel and Tougaloo’s faculty were beginning a new semester. The term, to the pleasure of

Beittel and his leadership, saw a record enrollment of 522 student, 280 more students than the average from 10 years before. Dean Branch, at the October meeting of the college's Board of Trustees, reported that "although there have been attacks to the college by state and local officials, we now have the highest enrollment in the history of the college (Board of Trustee Meeting Minutes, October 7-8, 1963).

Beittel told the trustees that a new "work study" program was being created that would provide ten full scholarships to students who have been working in voter registration drives. He also announce that five full scholarships would be awarded to students who were interested in taking a temporary leave from school to work in voter registration efforts. According to Beittel, recipients of the award must return to full time status before 1964 (Board of Trustee Meeting Minutes, October 7-8, 1963). Beittel's announcements, the only recorded in the minutes for the meeting, reflected Beittel's passion for social justice issues, including voter registration.

On November 22, President John F. Kennedy was assassinated while on a campaign trip to Dallas, Texas. Kennedy was admired and loved by many civil rights activists, who believed Kennedy to be a friend of the Movement. Students and faculty at Tougaloo responding to the news with "stunned disbelief, unschooled grief and an overwhelming sense of loss." The college's choir canceled its annual Christmas cantata but instead, as a tribute to Kennedy's life, performed Mozart's Requiem. "Many friends came to the campus to hear members of the choir render their wonderful musical tribute to a man whose life

was characterized by courage, integrity and dedication to the American ideal”  
 (“Tougaloo Mourns JFK,” 1963, pp. 1-3)

The year, 1963, which was now ending, began with promise and hopefulness for many Tougalooans, both faculty and students, who devoted much of themselves to the cause of racial justice. The year had been a time of victories and defeats. In spite of triumphs, like the achievements of the downtown boycotts, it was most remarkably marked with death and violence. The calamities and misfortunes of 1963 may have left Beittel eager for better times in 1964.

## CHAPTER IX

1964

As Adam Daniel Beittel began his fourth spring semester at Tougaloo's helm, a group of his students who had recently organized as the school's Cultural and Artistic Committee, continued their efforts to desegregate entertainment venues throughout the Jackson area. In early January, the group, after learning that the year's biggest stars in American television, Lorne Greene, Michael Landon, and Dan Blocker, were scheduled to appear at the upcoming Mississippi Industrial Exposition, wrote to the *Bonanza* cast, asking that they refuse to attend the segregated event (Classen, 2004, p. 98).

Blocker, the first to reply, not only canceled his appearance but also admonished Mississippi's segregationists for their perpetuation of racial injustice. "I will not be there. I have long been in sympathy with the Negro's [sic] struggle for total citizenship, therefore, I would find an appearance of any sort before a segregated house incompatible with my moral concepts" (as cited in Dittmer, 1994, p. 227). Days later, Landon and Green also canceled, adding that they, too, refused to "aid and abet age old customs in Mississippi" (as cited in Classen, 2004, p. 98).

In response to the actors' apparent snubbing of southern traditions, White Jacksonians, following the pattern of their mayor, Allen Thompson, began a boycott of the western television drama. "Because the *Bonanza* stars canceled their scheduled entertainment before a segregated audience, we [White Jacksonians] are told not to watch *Bonanza*, we are admonished to boycott the

Chevrolet dealers because Chevrolet sponsors *Bonanza*" (Campbell, 1997, p. 200). On a local radio broadcast, Thompson defended the city's right to sponsor segregated functions, while condemning *Bonanza*'s stars, asking that his fellow citizens join him in boycott the program.

Like other activist-minded entertainers, the *Bonanza* cast members were promptly judged as left-leaning radicals who, like Beittel, were thought determined to abolish Mississippi's way of life. Following the mayor's address, Thomas Ethridge, in his column "Mississippi Notebook," which frequently appeared on the front page of the *Jackson Clarion Ledger*, questioned the integrity, patriotism, and masculinity of the celebrities, calling them "immoral, unethical, untrustworthy, unchristian, and liberal or communism," while suggesting that the actors were tools of the NAACP (as cited in Classen, 2004, p. 98). In terms antithetical to the television show's rugged and masculine characters, Ethridge suggested that the men were different from the characters they portrayed on the show.

Other artists, including trumpeter Al Hurt, reneged on contractual commitments to perform in Jackson. Hurt, after being contacted by students from Tougaloo, refused to play for the segregated audience at the Jackson Auditorium. Hurt's "last minute" cancelation was especially alarming to White Jacksonians, particularly those who had been seated at the March of Dimes benefit concert, only to learn that Hurt had sided with the Tougaloo students.

Saturday evening after a crowd of 4,000 had waited 40 minutes to hear jazz musician, Al Hurt, in a March of Dimes benefit, the announcement

was made that Mr. Hurt refused to appear before a segregated audience. A telegram sent to Mr. Hurt by a Tougaloo student was read to the gathering. Here at the college a telephone call was received from a reporter friendly to us saying there were angry mutterings among the crowd to the effect that they'd get Tougaloo for this. (Campbell, 1997, p. 197)

Later that evening, a carload of White men drove to the campus. Shots were fired toward the school. "It was always frightening when that happened," recalled Trumpauer. "It usually occurred after a civil rights victory that had been orchestrated by our students. This was one of those victories" (J. Trumpauer, personal communication, March 14, 2012).

With several of the aforementioned achievements behind them, Tougaloo's students refused to rest on their laurels. Instead, they implemented a more direct method of protest that paired Black students with White students to attend "side by side" various performances within the Jackson area. In doing so, students were breaking local laws, as well as challenging customs that traditionally forbade racial mixing. Students, having been thoroughly prepared for what they might face, were often derided and mocked, and were occasionally arrested.

At one *Holiday on Ice* performance Tougaloo students Marion Gillian, black, and Eli Hochstedler, white, were arrested when they tried to sit together. Later that night Hochstedler was badly beaten by a white inmate

at the Jackson jail, a reminder that no protest activity in Mississippi was without risk. (Dittmer, 1994, p. 228)

That spring, at the invitation of the college's Cultural and Artistic Committee, folksinger, Joan Baez, performed to a "sold out" crowd at Tougaloo's Woodward Chapel. The interracial audience was comprised of attendees from all across the state and included a number of White students from the state's segregated schools, including Mississippi College, a Baptist school near Jackson. "Mississippi College students had been called in the day before and threatened with expulsion, but they came anyway and joined hands with Blacks when Baez closed her performance with 'We Shall Overcome'" (Dittmer, 1994, p. 228).

Joan Trumpauer, one of Tougaloo's first White students, attended the event, as did Beittel, who was often blamed for the school's willingness to hold interracial gatherings, a practice that was offensive to many White Mississippians. Trumpauer, believing that the evening was "transformational," credited Beittel for allowing the concert to take place.

I remember thinking that something drastic had happened that night. It was something about the way to students, both black and white, held hands, swayed back and forth in unison, while singing songs of unity and hope. It was transformational, and I remember it still. I have kept my ticket though these many years. It would not have happened without the blessing of the school's president. (J. Trumpauer, personal communication, March 14, 2012)

Despite a deteriorating relationship with the college's trustees, enduring disputes with city of Jackson officials, as well as the ongoing difficulties of raising money for a Black college that served as "home base" for much of the state's civil rights activities, Beittel continued to support the right of students to protest. The previous year had been distressing with too many bloody affairs of national magnitude, including the murdered Medgar Evers in Jackson, the bombing of a church in Birmingham, Alabama in September, and the assassination of President Kennedy in Dallas, Texas. This year, 1964, would become perhaps the most disquieting and perplexing of Beittel's professional life.

In spite of the murderous events of 1963, Beittel was anticipating several more years at Tougaloo's helm. Tougaloo's trustees, now ready to launch the much-anticipated cooperative with Brown University, saw the venture as a great occasion for Tougaloo, providing the school with a level of financial support that it had never known. It seemed like a bright day for Tougaloo and for Beittel, who had noted during his first year at the school, "Tougaloo, since its founding in 1869, has faced one financial crisis after another. Sometimes the situation has been so critical that it was doubtful that the school would survive" (Beittel's letter to the Board of Trustees, November 16, 1960). The beginning of 1964 seemed different, the financial liberation the college had so often sought, appeared close at hand, especially in light of the affiliation with Brown University.

The relationship was so encouraging to Tougaloo that its trustees called a "special meeting" to "deal with matters relating to the Development Program." The meeting, held on January 16 in New York City, was attended by 12 trustees,



Daniel W. Earle [Brown's Director of Development], Dr. Frederick Patterson, [President of both the Negro College Fund and the Phelps-Stokes Fund], and Beittel.

Earle reported that numerous charities were willing to support Tougaloo, including the Ford Foundation, the Field Foundation, the Woodrow Wilson National Scholarship Foundation, the Sloan Foundation, and the James Foundation. Earle noted that "It is highly important that all person interested in Tougaloo seek to enlist the support of individuals who can provide fairly substantial support." The trustees also approved the construction of additional faculty housing, the building of a dormitory for women, the hiring of a firm for campus planning, as well as the digging of a sewage lagoon, as the college had "outgrown our present sanitary facilities," Beittel said (Board of Trustees Minutes, January 16, 1964).

After discussing these issues and several others, the "regular" meeting was adjourned, as officers of the board sequestered themselves in "executive session." At that time, Hotchkiss "presented the matter of Dr. Beittel's health problems," mentioning a conversation he had with Mrs. Beittel, in which she voiced concerns over her husband's health. Months earlier, sometime during the summer of 1963, Mrs. Beittel, in a letter to Hotchkiss, mentioned that "a heart condition" had been discovered during her husband's "routine annual physical." Mrs. Beittel added, "the condition might become serious if he [Beittel] is constantly overworked without adequate relation" (Board of Trustees Minutes, January 16, 1964).

Following this disclosure, Hotchkiss reminded the board that “Dr. Beittel had passed his 65<sup>th</sup> birthday.” Another officer, Lawrence Durgin, faulting Beittel’s perceived apathy toward the school’s affiliation with Brown University, informed the group that foundations, including those supportive of the cooperative with Brown, were “concerned and hesitant about giving money to institutions whose presidents may not carry through with the programs” (Executive Session Minutes, January 16, 1964). Subsequently, the officers approved the following motion:

That Wesley Hotchkiss inform Dr. Beittel of the conversation of the Board regarding the necessity for a younger man to be able to carry the load for Tougaloo College. Mr. Hotchkiss would make arrangements for a committee consisting of Wesley Hotchkiss, Emory Ross, and Robert Wilder to meet with Dr. Beittel for discussion. (Executive Session Minutes, January 16, 1964)

Additionally, a search committee was appointed for the selection of a new president.

At some point immediately following the meeting, several members of the Board, including Hotchkiss and Robert Wilder, told Beittel that the college would soon seek a change in presidential leadership, though, according to Beittel’s recollections, no time line for such a change was given. With this news, Beittel’s outlook for the year changed, as did his plans for an enduring presidency at Tougaloo.

Once reports of the Board's desire to replace Beittel surfaced, sometime in mid-January, Mrs. Beittel, apparently fearing that her letter to Hotchkiss might have contributed to her husband's current predicament, drafted another dispatch to Hotchkiss, hoping to provide clarification to her previous epistle. In the second letter, dated January 23, 1964, Mrs. Beittel wrote,

I know that I wrote you a concerned letter last summer, but my recollection of that letter is that it was only to the effect that Dan needed help—not that he should retire now. I am sorry I never got a chance to talk to you except by telephone, for apparently I did a poor job of communication. (Mrs. Beittel's Letter to Hotchkiss, January 23, 1964)

Mrs. Beittel's clarifications did not prompt a reversal in the Board's decision.

On February 20, Beittel and the college's leadership faced additional tribulations, as the state's lawmakers took up Mississippi Senate Bill # 1672, which called for the revocation of Tougaloo's ninety-three year old charter (Chapter CCCXVIII (318) General Law of Mississippi, 1871). During Beittel's term, Tougaloo made numerous foes at the state capitol, including Lieutenant Governor Carroll Gartin, who had recently promised a state investigation into illegal activities that he believed were occurring at Tougaloo.

Beittel, through an article in the *Northside Reporter*, denounced attempts by legislators to revoke the college's charter.

If there are any legislators who have in mind making a witch-hunting expedition out to Tougaloo, we suggest they give the matter a serious thought before they do so. And before the Senate votes on the matter of

revoking a charter which the school has had since the 1800s it should take a long look also. Evidently these legislators have already forgotten that political interference with higher institutions of learning can result in loss of accreditation by all state schools. (*Northside Reporter*, 1964)

The bill directed its attention to specific stipulations in the Mississippi Constitution of 1871, which limited the value of Tougaloo's "physical plant to \$500,000. The value of the school's properties had long since surpassed that amount.

The college found a sympathetic voice from William Fidler, the General Secretary of the American Association of University Professors, who challenged the motivations of lawmakers in their attacks on Tougaloo. In a letter to Governor Paul Johnson, Fidler writes,

I must express the profound concern of this Association at the introduction of Senate Bill 1672. Revocation of an institution's charter would appear justified only if unmistakable evidence existed that the institution had ceased to serve a useful function. It is our considered judgment that no such conclusion concerning Tougaloo Southern Christian College is appropriate.

The *Washington Post*, in its March 7 edition reported that the bill was introduced only three days after Gartin, in a public address, called Tougaloo a "red hangout," as well as a "hangout for Communist and fellow travelers and a haven for queers [sic], quacks, and quirks." The paper also reported Beittel's response to Gartin's allegations. Beittel, defending himself and Tougaloo, said,

I'm running an educational institution. No demonstrations are planned on campus. But we think an educational institution must have a policy granting a large amount of freedom. We know some students are involved in racial protest. We have no objection to that as long as they keep up their studies. (as cited in "Gov. Johnson Put on Spot In Negro College Attack," 1964, p. E10)

By mid-April, the bill died in the Senate Judiciary Committee. The committee's chairperson, E.K. Collins, stated, "they did not have enough evidence to make it stick in court" (cited in "Tougaloo Bill Expected to Die," *Jackson Daily News*, April, 14, 1964, p. A1)

In spite of the ongoing deliberations regarding Beittel's future, as well as the growing acrimony between Tougaloo and the state capitol, the March issue of the *Tougazette* suggests that routine college activities continued. In that edition, it was reported that nine Tougaloo students, including Joan Trumpauer, were named in *Who's Who Among American Colleges and Universities*, while Julia Bender, longtime library clerk, was honored in a recent edition of *The Eaglet*. ("Ms. Bender Recognized," 1964, p.1). Additionally, it was reported that Andre L. Bovay, Assistant Director of General Services to the United Nations, addressed Borinski's February meeting of the Social Science Forum. ("Social Science Forum," 1964, p. 1). The edition also included details of a campaign to eliminate the risk of Polio to Tougaloo's students, which was initiated by Dr. Robert Smith, the college's physician. "A campaign was begun in January to get everyone to take three doses of Sabin vaccine. The Sabin vaccine is odorless and tasteless,

and taking all three doses in the right order gives protection against polio for life” (“Sabin Oral Vaccination Urged,” 1964, p. 3).

On April 13, Erle Johnston, Director of the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission, authored a “file memo” to document a recent conversation with Dr. John J. R. Held, one of Beittel’s enemies, a professor of philosophy and religion at Tougaloo, a graduate of Drew and Boston Universities, and one of the Commission’s pipelines within Tougaloo, often working as Johnson’s informant.

We asked Dr. Held to furnish us, confidentially, a list of student leaders who vigorously opposed Beittel, and a list of the faculty. We also asked for a list of the students and faculty who seemed to be favoring the Beittel policies. We also asked for a list of trustees and sources of revenue for the school. (Johnston’s file memo, April 13, 1964)

The memo also notes that Held considered Hotchkiss “very practical,” believing that Hotchkiss had “decided that he would tender his resignation [from Tougaloo’s Board of Trustees] unless Beittel was removed” (Johnston’s file memo, April 13, 1964).

Beittel’s *retirement* was announced at the next meeting of the Board of Trustees, which was held on the school’s campus on April 24 and 25. The minutes from that meeting note a “Letter from the President,” under the heading of “Special Order of Business.” The letter is Beittel’s “official letter of resignation,” as claimed by Hotchkiss. Oddly, the letter reads less like a resignation and more like Beittel’s self-defense of his accomplishments while Tougaloo’s president. In it, he never resigns but instead refuses to quit.

I have been asked to request retirement September 1<sup>st</sup>, and thereby provide a device for covering up a decision which effects my future very much, but which was made without consulting me at all. I cannot in fairness to myself request a retirement which I do not want.” (“Letter of Resignation,” April 24, 1964)

Moreover, Beittel reminded the board that he accepted the presidential position five years earlier [the fall of 1959] with great concern, noting that he was “somewhat reluctant to accept the position.” Beittel claimed that he agreed to the job only after the board’s representatives, Hotchkiss and Howard Spragg, assured him that he could “continue as President until I reached the age of seventy, health permitting.” Were it not for that caveat, Beittel would “have remained in my satisfying position at Beloit College” (“Letter of Resignation,” April 24, 1964). Of Beittel’s actions, Campbell and Rogers write: “The board asked Dr. Beittel to announce his voluntary retirement, but he chose not to be a part of the deception. He would not have left his former post at Beloit College for a mere four years at Tougaloo” (Campbell & Rogers, 1979, p. 217).

The first official notice of Beittel’s dismissal was publicly released on April 25. The press statement, in part, reads,

Members of the Board expressed their deepest appreciation to Dr. Beittel for his years of skilled and courageous leadership of the College during the most significant period of its 95-year history. They also praised him for the contributions he has made to education generally through this leadership in educational organizations throughout the South. Dr. Beittel

was elected “President Emeritus” and was granted a six-month sabbatical for rest and travel, beginning September 1. He will remain on the campus during the summer to direct the special summer education programs of the College. (“Beittel Retirement – Tougaloo Press Release,” 1964)

By late-April, Beittel remained unaware that a delegation from the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission had secretly met with several of the trustees just a few days before the April meeting. Campbell and Rogers (1979) address the role the Sovereignty Commission played in Beittel’s termination. They note that the Commission, in their “Report on Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission, 1964-1967, took praise for Beittel’s removal.

Members of the Sovereignty Commission asserted that they met privately with three of the college trustees in New York a few days before Beittel was dismissed and told the board members that Mississippi and Tougaloo College were on a collision course but that the crisis might be avoided if Dr. Beittel were dismissed. (Campbell & Rogers, 1979, p. 217)

Clarence Hunter, Senior Archivist at the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, also believes that representatives of the Sovereignty Commission directly petitioned Trustees. “Members of the Commission went to the Tougaloo’s Board of Trustee’s meeting in 1964 in New York to influence the Board to fire Beittel” (Hunter, “Tougaloo College’s Involvement in the Civil Rights Movement,” 2012).

Hotchkiss, too, in a letter to Robert Spike of the National Council of Churches, acknowledged meeting with members of the Commission. In the letter,



he explained that the meeting, which “should not influence our actions as a Board,” put the college, as well as the trustees in “an embarrassing position.”

Hotchkiss writes:

To complicate matters two representatives of the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission appeared in my office one day to discuss Tougaloo. I knew about it a day or so in advance so I called Bob Wilder not knowing what sort of blackmail they had in mind. After a lot of southern palaver, they really were trying to find a way out of the dilemma. They symbolized all the “trouble at Tougaloo” in Dan and were pressuring us to reform him.

(Hotchkiss’ letter to Spike, June 24, 1964)

Sovereignty Commission documents, too, confirm the aforementioned meeting, noting that Commission officials cautioned Tougaloo’s directors, warning them that Tougaloo might endure harsh ramifications, including the school’s loss of accreditation, were Beittel not fired.

We gave the trustees copies of two bills, which have been introduced. One bill would revoke the charter at Tougaloo and the other would give the Mississippi Accrediting Commission authority to deny accreditation to any college in the state regardless of its approval by the Southern Association. We assured the trustees that if they could change the image of Tougaloo, we would do all in our power to hold up any action on the charter or decision by the Mississippi Accreditation Commission. (letter “to file,” from Johnston, April 24, 1964).

On April 28, Johnston and attorney, Shelby Rogers, in a letter to Herman Glazier, administrative assistant to Governor Johnson, informed the Governor that the Commission would continue to track Beittel's movements, even as Beittel and his wife sought a post-presidency home in Jackson. "He [Beittel] wants a house big enough to accommodate all the Negroes [sic] who wish to come or stay with him" (Johnston's letter to Glazier, April 28, 1964).

Beittel, believing that Brown University had coerced Tougaloo's trustees to remove him in favor of someone detached from the civil rights conflicts in Mississippi, while thinking that his advocacy for racial equality had become a distraction to Brown, as well as the foundations that were willing to support a Brown-Tougaloo partnership, sought to confirm his suspicions.

In Beittel's letter to Hotchkiss, dated April 13, 1964, Beittel acknowledged reports that Brown University, through its president, Barnaby Keeney, demanded Beittel's removal, while threatening to end the highly cherished development program with Brown.

I understood you to say that I was to be replaced as President of Tougaloo College at the urgent request of Brown University. You indicated that Brown University would not continue our cooperative relationship unless I am replaced, that without Brown University the Ford Foundation will provide no support, and without Ford support other foundations will not respond, and without foundation support the future of Tougaloo College is very uncertain. (Beittel's letter to Hotchkiss, April 13, 1964)

Two days later, Hotchkiss replied, countering that Beittel “misinterpreted” him and that neither Brown nor Keeney had anything to do with the board’s decision regarding Beittel. Hotchkiss added that he and other trustees believed that Beittel was apathetic to the relationship with Brown, which they believed to be “the best opportunity Tougaloo has had in recent history.”

What I did say was that the trustees were convinced that you have no comprehension of, or interest in, the proposed relationship with Brown University and, for this reason, the trustees are suggesting that you take advantage of your opportunity to retire. (Hotchkiss’ letter to Beittel, April 15, 1964)

Before contacting Hotchkiss, Beittel wrote directly to Keeney declaring his fears that Brown had interfered in Tougaloo’s internal governances. Beittel also stated that he had, “with enthusiastic support,” advanced the Brown connection and that he believed his “twenty-four years of educational experience in the South should be of considerable value in steering Tougaloo College through the revolutionary year ahead” (Beittel’s letter to Keeney, April 5, 1964).

Hotchkiss, fearing that Beittel’s letter to Keeney might unravel the pact between Brown and Tougaloo, claimed that Beittel might have destroyed “the proposed relationship either if you stay or go.” Hotchkiss scolded Beittel for having written Keeney, arguing that the contact “may be irreparable,” and then calling Beittel’s removal as “a request to resign.” He added, “Your writing to Keeney as you have confirms my opinion that you should retire. If I had any doubts previously I have none now” (Hotchkiss’ letter to Beittel, April 15, 1964).

Like Beittel, Clarice Campbell, a social studies instructor at Tougaloo, believed that Keeney had a hand in Beittel's termination. According to Campbell, Beittel told the faculty of his forced retirement on April 25, but Campbell confessed that some college employees, as well as students, had been told earlier by representatives of Brown and the Ford Foundation. Campbell fearing that she, too, at the wishes of Brown's administration, could be replaced, wrote her concerns in a letter to friends and family. "When Brown men were here for a week to make a survey of us they wrote a report in which they did not speak very highly of the faculty. So, if Dr. Beittel could be dismissed so causally, perhaps the rest of us can also" (Campbell, 1997, p. 208).

While Beittel suspected that Keeney had influenced the trustees to turn against him, no evidence suggests that Beittel knew of the Sovereignty Commission's participation in his removal from office. Eight days before the formal announcement of Beittel's "resignation," Johnston wrote to Hotchkiss, a memo in which Johnston identified Beittel as a "despised dictator," who had "persuaded students against their better judgment to participate in flagrant violations of property rights." Johnston also claimed that Beittel had communist sympathies, and that he had caused "the institution to become more of a school for agitation than a school for education."

Through Johnston's memo, the Commission made its "convictions clear," noting, "If Beittel were removed from the faculty effective at the end of the current term and he were replaced by dedicated person interested only in the education of students, the former stature of Tougaloo College could be restored."

On May 14, instigated and encouraged by the Sovereignty Commission and the White Citizens' Council, Mississippi Senate passed Bill # 1794, which, were it to become law, empowered the state to revoke Tougaloo's accreditation. While Beittel and Tougaloo's trustees were enmeshed in correspondences regarding Beittel's terms of separation with the school, as well as the impact that separation would have on Beittel's professional reputation, Beittel was forced to respond to the threat of the aforementioned legislation, which would likely pass the House, secure the governor's signature, and become law.

Dr. Truman B. Douglas, Executive Vice-President of the Board of Directors of the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries, knowing that a legislative challenge to Tougaloo's accreditation, wrote "The Facts About the Threat to Tougaloo College," which appeared in the April edition of the *United Church of Christ Council for Higher Education Journal*. In the article, Douglas quoted Charles Evers, brother of slain civil rights leader, Medgar Evers, and the newly appointed Field Secretary of the NAACP, called the proposed legislation "a political invasion," noting the current attempt was part of a long going effort to punish Tougaloo for its support of the Civil Rights Movement. He added that the legislation was "designed to keep potential voters of the state ignorant" (cited in Douglas).

Douglas also quoted his friend and fellow Tougaloo board member, Hotchkiss, who said, "Mississippi needs Tougaloo, whether the white majority realizes it or not," adding that "even though certain extremists hope fervently for the death of the college, there are many good people in the state who know that

such an event would be a tragedy.” Many individuals and organizations rallied to the school’s defense, unaware of the inner quarreling amongst the college’s leadership.

The bill, according to Tougaloo’s supporters, was an underhanded attempt to destroy Tougaloo. The repercussion of the bill would have been devastating to the school, by empowering the state to override the accreditation decisions of the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, which, historically and holistically, held the authority to accredit schools, colleges, and universities within its regulatory jurisdiction.

Records of the Sovereignty Commission verify that the Commission claimed “sponsorship” of the bill, and that the group intended to punish Tougaloo and its leadership for their involvement in the Jackson Movement. In an undated “file memo,” Johnston writes:

The reason for this decision [to sponsor Senate Bill # 1794] is the apparent fact that the state is powerless to either close down or curtail the programs at Tougaloo. The most practical course appears one of restoring the school to its original status and eliminating the influences which have brought about student participations and sit-ins. (Johnston’s file memo, not dated)

Understanding the dreadful consequences of the bill’s potential passage, Beittel wrote Gordon Sweet, Executive Secretary of the Southern Association, noting that an attempt to pass similar legislation earlier in the year never reached

a vote, having died in the Senate's Judiciary Committee (Beittel's letter to Sweet, May 20, 1964).

One week later, on May 27, Beittel wrote Hollis Price, President of LeMoyne College in Memphis, one of Tougaloo's sister schools. In that letter, Beittel described the magnitudes of proposed law, citing the difficulties that Tougaloo's graduates would face in gaining employment, especially in teaching positions within the state's public schools. Beittel explained, "At present time all colleges accredited by the Southern Association are automatically accredited by the State Association in Mississippi. If this bill becomes law it will mean that while Tougaloo College is fully accredited by the Southern Association it can be removed from the accredited state list" (Beittel's letter to Price, May 27, 1964).

Two days later, Price wrote to the presidents of Black colleges that accepted monies from the United Negro College Fund [UNCF], explaining the penalties of the proposed law, cautioning that other southern states might mimic the Mississippi legislation were Senate Bill # 1794 to be enacted. "This is obviously aimed at Tougaloo, but it also hits the Southern Association. You may want to express your views on this matter to the Association" (Price's letter to UNCF presidents, May 29, 1964).

In early June, Senate Bill #1794, without debate or objection, passed in the Mississippi House of Representatives. On June 6, Beittel again wrote Sweet asking that he "take some appropriate action." The same day, Beittel petitioned Governor Johnson.

May I respectfully call to your attention that this is a very dangerous bill?

For the State of Mississippi to refuse state accreditation to any institution fully accredited by the Southern Association may jeopardize the accreditation of all state institutions in Mississippi and would certainly provide a bad image of Mississippi among educators all over the United States. (Beittel's letter to Johnson, June 6, 1964)

The bill was never signed into law, possibly because of the college's decision to remove Beittel from office.

While Mississippi's decision not to enact Senate Bill #1794 came as good news to Tougaloo's leadership, matters regarding Beittel's termination deteriorated. To make matters worse, Hotchkiss gave contradictory explanations for the actions of trustees regarding Beittel's termination, forced or otherwise. On June 10, Hotchkiss wrote to Reverend James H. Lightbourne, Jr. of Atlanta. In this letter, Hotchkiss sites Beittel's age as the primary concern of the trustees, while adding, "Any attempt to infer that Dan Beittel's relationship to the civil rights movement has had any effect on the decision of the Board is not the truth. Instead, Hotchkiss claimed that the program of development with Brown was a "long-range program" and was one that needed a president who could oversee the entire span of the relationship with Brown.

Because Dan had reached his 65<sup>th</sup> birthday the trustees, in order to be responsible trustees of the College, had to take a long look at whether or not to go into a ten-year program with a man who had reached his 65<sup>th</sup>



birthday and the decision was made that we needed a younger person.

(Hotchkiss' letter to Lightbourne, June 10, 1964)

Additionally, Hotchkiss closed his letter with a stinging criticism of Beittel's response to his termination.

The fact that Dan has not been able to accept his retirement emotionally has made it difficult for us but we cannot sacrifice the opportunities open to the College because he is reluctant to accept the fact that he is 65.

(Hotchkiss' letter to Lightbourne, June 10, 1964)

In the days following the notice of Beittel's termination, the college received numerous letters of support and praise for Beittel, his wife, leadership, and administration. The *Tougaloo News* in its June 1964 edition printed several messages, including one from Dr. F. D. Patterson, President of the United Negro College Fund. He thanked Beittel and his wife for "distinguished" service to the school and wrote that he "received word of your retirement with mixed feelings of deep regret." He added that he felt sad that Beittel's "selfless service would be denied Tougaloo" and yet thankful that Beittel and his wife "will have many pleasant and profitable years of active service" ("Dr. Beittel To Retire," 1964, p. 1).

Florence Cross, the widow of Tougaloo's fifth president, John Cross, noted the tumultuous time at which Beittel was leaving the college. "It is hard to think of you leaving just now," she wrote. Both the sixth and seventh presidents, Dr. Harold C. Warren and Dr. Samuel Kincheloe, sent messages, heaping commendations on Beittel, noting his many accomplishments at the school.

Warren wrote that Beittel came to Tougaloo at a “critical period in the history of the beloved college,” while calling Beittel’s service “devoted” and “invaluable.” Kincheloe recognized that Beittel came to Tougaloo during a time of transition, while observing the difficulty Beittel must have faced in balancing the school’s duty and mission of its academic responsibilities, while actively engaging in the Jackson Movement. Of this challenge, Kincheloe wrote, “You have had to see that the education process went on and you have had to relate yourself to a movement and a cause of great consequence.” Kincheloe praised Beittel’s ability to steer the college in the midst of both tasks. “It strikes me that you have maintained a proper balance in this delicate situation” (“Dr. Beittel To Retire,” 1964, p. 1).

The president of the United Christian Missionary Society, Dr. A. Dale Fiers, who had recently delivered the school’s commencement address, sent his tributes, too. He recognized Beittel’s commitment to racial justice, calling his governance “courageous and heroic.”

Speaking for those who were disenchanted about Beittel’s treatment, Elizabeth Sewell, a visiting professor of English, whom Beittel had employed the previous year, wrote a poem lamenting the tragedies that the nation had faced during the previous year, including the assassination of John F. Kennedy, the bombing of Birmingham’s 16<sup>th</sup> Street Baptist Church, as well as Beittel’s termination. Sewell, in her poem titled “Quite a Year for Heads Falling” wrote:

That small-girl head, torn from its body, was  
the first, At Birmingham,

But somehow everywhere,  
 So that I've often thought, driving down long  
 empty Mississippi roads,  
 Dust blowing, sun shining,  
 One might see any minute that little innocent  
 head. (Sewell, 1964, n.p.)

The most powerful letter of support came from three local clergy who were also directors of the Mississippi Council on Human Rights, Reverend Bernard F. Law, Reverend Duncan M Gray, Jr., and Rabbi Perry E. Nussbaum, and was dated May 4. The writers noted that Tougaloo under Beittel's leadership had become "a beacon light" and a "solid institution in the State where freedom of expression is the rule" (letter "to friends," from Law, Gray, and Nussbaum, May 4, 1964).

The following day, Johnston drafted a memo to Governor Paul B. Johnson, which substantiates the Sovereignty Commission's involvement in Beittel's termination, and confirms that the state government, at the highest level, was participatory in Beittel's downfall.

Our pipeline information from Tougaloo says the trustees gave as their reason for dismissal of Dr. Beittel that he was "inefficient." This will certainly work to our advantage. Had Dr. Beittel been asked to resign because of racial agitation or collaborating with communists from organizations, he could have made a martyr out of himself. (Johnston's letter to Johnson, May 5, 1964)

On May 24, the Tougaloo community gathered in the college's chapel to acknowledge Beittel and his wife. During the ceremony, the National Tougaloo Alumni Association honored Beittel with a resolution praising Beittel for his four years of service to the school. The group presented Beittel with a leather binder containing sympathetic notes from Beittel's friends and allies. The Jackson Alumni Club gave Beittel a plaque commemorating his presidency at Tougaloo.

Beittel, even in the final days of his tenure at Tougaloo, continued to resist the Jim Crow traditions of Mississippi. During the last week of May, Beittel, acting at the request of the U.S. State Department, served as official host of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, a member of the Indian Parliament, who was visiting Jackson. Beittel and his wife, following the directives of governmental officials, met Lohia at the airport on the evening of May 29. After doing so, the Beittels, expecting no confrontation, took Lohia and his traveling companion to dinner at a local Morrison's cafeteria. Trouble ensued when the restaurant's manager refused to serve to the Beittels and their guests. The snubbing was apparently tied to an episode that occurred days earlier in which a woman, perceived to be an Indian, but actually, "a Negro" [sic] was inadvertently served at another Jackson-area Morrison's.

Consequently, with the restaurant chain apparently embarrassed for having served a Black, Morrison's management issued orders "not to serve any Indians" (Campbell, 1997, p. 218). The story might have gone unnoticed were it not for the response of Lohia, who, after informing local media, returned to the same Morrison's the following day (Campbell, 1997, p. 219).

In spite of the succinctness of the occurrence, the event garnered local publicity, to the chagrin of Tougaloo's trustees, who were wishing, at the encouragement of Brown's administrations, to change the school's public standing, moving away from social advocacy and toward academic excellence.

More unwanted publicity came on June 1, when Beittel testified before the Federal Communications Committee in Washington, D. C. regarding the management of Jackson's NBC affiliate, WLBT, a station that had a reputation for anti-segregation positions, often cutting off network news feeds for stories that were deemed "pro black." In doing so, Jacksonians, both White and Black, were kept from fully understanding Mississippi's standing to the broader national community. Fred Beard, the station's general manager, who claimed that NBC was "a mouthpiece for Negro [sic] propaganda," was known for his "Sorry, Cable Trouble," logo, which appeared when Beard caused viewers' screens to go blank (Dittmer, 1994, p. 65).

In Jackson, the major television market, the two network affiliates refused to carry programs or specials focusing on the race problem. Locally, station managers denied black spokespersons access to the media and gave black cultural activities little or no coverage. This crude combination of exclusion and self-censorship achieved its purpose. Most Mississippians could not see programs that discussed the social revolution underway in the South. (Dittmer, 1994, p. 66)

Beittel testified that WLBT had "failed" when given a "tremendous opportunity to educate the public on difficult and controversial problem," which, according to

Beittel, was a disservice to Jacksonians, both White and Black. “You have a set-up here that could lend itself to a discussion of contemporary issues with conflicting points of view. The give and take of controversial discussion contributes to the education of the community.” Beittel acknowledged that he had asked for airtime to present some “controversial points of view,” but had never been permitted that opportunity (Beittel’s testimony to The Federal Communications Commission, June 1, 1964).

Additionally, Beittel accused the station’s management of presenting one side of Mississippi’s racial debate, Beittel claimed that WLBT operated a “Freedom Bookstore, which he called, “an outlet for segregationist and far right-rightist publication, the kind of publication approved by the Citizens’ Council” (Beittel’s testimony to The Federal Communications Commission, June 1, 1964).

While angering White Mississippians, Beittel’s testimony also incensed those within the Tougaloo community who had grown weary of Beittel’s propensity of publically pulling the school into the Jackson Movement. There were faculty members, as well as students, who thought that Beittel had gone too far. One instructor, now known as “Mr. Zero” (letters were anonymous, but were signed with a large 0), frequently wrote to the Sovereignty Commission, providing them with the names of fellow faculty members who were sympathetic to the Movement and to Beittel, while keeping the Commission abreast of on-campus civil rights activities.

Just a word to say that the campus is crawling alive with Civil Rights

“workers.” They seem to have had a training conference here, yesterday,

and were all here yet this morning. 99% were white of the ragged, tagged variety. Mostly young folk, though some were older. (Zero's letter to Buchanan, June 2, 1964)

On June 2, "Zero" sent another letter to Bert Buchanan of the State Sovereignty Commission, complaining that "we are still active in agitation" and that "He [Beittel] is attempting to get a campaign going to get himself re-appointed as president of the institution. Zero added "I am now campaigning openly for the job," promising the Commission that he would "make a good college here," which would, he added, "keep within the laws and customs of the State" (Zero's letter to Buchanan, June 2, 1964). While the identity of Zero remains a mystery, those most familiar with Beittel and his administration suspect that Held was the Commission's informant.

Beittel received more bad news on June 10, when Dr. John Blyth, Director of the Programed Learning Department at The Diebold Group, informed him that Diebold was ending Tougaloo's hosting of the programed literacy project, which, with great publicity and the financial support of Mr. and Mrs. Stephen R. Currier, began just a year earlier. In a letter to Beittel, Blyth confessed the difficulty of "keeping the project separate from Civil Rights activities" (Blyth's letter to Beittel, June 10, 1964).

Before contacting Beittel, Blyth first wrote to Jane Eddy of the Taconic Foundation, lamenting his decision to move the instructional program for adult illiterates "out of Mississippi," in spite of Blyth's recent report presented to the National Society of Programmed Instruction, in which he claimed, "we are making

substantial progress toward the objectives of the project.” The successes of the project could not overcome the “general political situation” at Tougaloo, Blyth argued.

The public image of the project as part of the civil rights movement has increased the difficulty in finding suitable test subjects. It is difficult at best to locate completely illiterate individuals who are willing to venture into the strange environment at Tougaloo. The difficulty is increased when they believe that they face the risks entailed in civil rights actions. (Blyth’s letter to Eddy, June 1, 1964)

Tougaloo’s trustees moved forward in the search for Beittel’s replacement, while appointing George Owens, who had served as Tougaloo’s business manager since 1955. Before coming to Tougaloo, Owens, a native of Mississippi, earned a bachelor’s degree from Tougaloo and a Masters of Business Administration from Columbia University.

While Owen’s interim presidency would not begin until September 1, the Executive Committee of the Trustees, on June 15, delegated most of the administrative duties to Owens, stripping Beittel of most of his authority. Three days later, Wilder wrote to Keeney telling him that Owens was now responsible for a majority of operational control. “It was decided that we should begin the administrative transition immediately by assigning to Mr. Owens those aspects of President Beittel’s duties which relate to the planning for the coming academic year.” More importantly to Keeney, Wilder noted that Owens would have the authority to “represent the college on all aspects of the Brown Tougaloo



Cooperative program,” and that he would have control over “expenditures of all special funds received by the college from individuals, Corporations, and Foundations.” According to Wilder, Beittel would continue to oversee the college’s summer program and the school’s relations with the local community (Wilder’s letter to Keeney, June 18, 1964).

On June 9, Johnston sent a memo to Glazier, noting that the Sovereignty Commission had “put into action a plan for Rust College similar to the plan we used at Tougaloo College.” In this memo, Johnson explained that the Commission would establish “pipelines” at Rust, just as they did at Tougaloo, and that they would build a case against President Smith, just as they did against Beittel (Johnston’s memo to Glazier, June 9, 1964). Many White Jacksonians, still unaware of the Commission’s incursion into Tougaloo’s affairs, continue to view Beittel as an agitator and troublemaker.

Once Beittel’s departure from Tougaloo seemed imminent, foundation grants began flowing into the college. The June issue of the *Tougaloo News*, ironically the same issue that praised Beittel ‘for duties well-performed and days well-spent, enumerated the amounts of money being gathered into the school’s reserves.

The Brown-Tougaloo program is being backed initially by two grants totaling \$245,000 from the Fund for the Advancement of Education, an organization established by the Ford Foundation. Other contributions to the College included \$45,000 from the Field Foundation of New York for a pre-freshman summer program and the Social Science Department, and

\$40,000 from the Carnegie Corporation of New York for the support of Tougaloo faculty members seeking advanced studies. ("TC Begins New Period of Development," 1964, p. 1)

With these funds now in hand, Keeney's promise for increased funding had been fulfilled, though at Beittel's expense. In July 1964, college administrators learned that neither legislative bill, neither Senate Bill #1672 nor #1794, would be enacted. Mississippi, with Beittel's future at Tougaloo all but certain, turned its attention elsewhere.

The level of interference by Keeney and Brown was never fully established, though Dittmer claims that Keeney, through his governmental influences, certainly played a part in Beittel's removal from office. Of this, Dittmer writes:

Throughout the period of his involvement with Tougaloo College, Barnaby Keeney was on the payroll of the Central Intelligence Agency, and though there is no evidence available to prove a link between his Tougaloo activities and his CIA work, Keeney personifies the interrelated network of government agencies, private foundations, and the intellectual community that needs to be explored more fully, particularly in relation to the southern black struggle of the 1960s. (Dittmer, 1994, p. 236)

On September 1, in a final report to the college's directors, Beittel took pleasure in the new financial strength of the college. In this, he was able to revel at the state in which his service was ending. He noted that he was leaving the school with well over 2 million dollars in assets, sizably higher than the 1.6 million

dollars in possessions at the time of his arrival, exactly four years earlier. He wrote, "I leave the college in better shape financially than it has ever been." He additionally touted his recent recruitment of new faculty. "There will be a better faculty than you have any right to expect when the fall term opens soon at Tougaloo" (Beittel's letter to Trustees, September 1, 1964).

Beittel warned the trustees that their treatment of him could hinder the search for a new president, adding that "prospective administrators do not want to be told in four years that the situation has changed and their services will be needed no longer" (Beittel's letter to Trustees, September 1, 1964). He closed his letter with these words:

I am not bitter. I have nothing but good wishes for my friends on the Board, on the Faculty, among the students, alumni and others interested in the welfare of Tougaloo College. But we do leave Tougaloo College with a disappointed feeling that promises have been broken. We still believe that integrity and honesty must be the foundation stones of any abiding institution.

With that final report to the college's trustees, the Beittel era at Tougaloo College ended.

## CHAPTER X

## UNYIELDING DEFENDERS – AFTER BEITTEL’S TENURE

John R. Salter

John R. Salter, Tougaloo professor and adult advisor to the NAACP Youth Council of Jackson, left Mississippi in the later summer of 1963, just weeks after a car wreck that nearly killed both Salter and his passenger, Reverend R. Edwin King. Salter, having recently suffered the death and burial of his friend, Medgar Evers, as well as the traumatic car *accident*, now believed that the Jackson Movement had taken a positive turn. Evers’ assassination had awakened the Blacks of Mississippi, especially those of Jackson, who were more familiar with Evers and the cause for which he had died. Larger crowds now gathered for mass meetings and protests, exemplifying what seemed a new conviction on the part of Jackson’s African Americans and those who supported them.

The reality was that segregation in Jackson had been badly cracked in a positive way. It never recovered from that, particularly following Medgar’s death. There were massive upsurges when there were too many demonstrators for too many police to arrest, the police simply couldn’t handle it. (Salter, 2005)

In August of 1963, James A. Dombrowski, the Executive Director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund [SCEF] asked Salter to be the organization’s field organizer in Northeastern North Carolina. Salter respected Dombrowski, a Methodist minister, especially for his cofounding of the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee, a training ground for the non-violent

practices that Salter long admired and practiced. Salter received Dombrowski's offer while visiting the Flagstaff home of his maternal grandfather, who never supported Salter's advocacy of Blacks and the impoverished. To Salter's surprise, his grandfather encouraged him to take the job, offering his blessings and best wishes.

My grandfather smiled. I suddenly realized that he had left his situation and had gone off to work as a mining engineer in North Idaho. When the frontier beckons, go. I did. And I would have anyway, but I was interested in that blessing, which I hadn't expected and which I got. Which is very interesting. The family always stayed together. (Salter, 2005)

Salter began his work in Halifax County, where Salter and the SCEF enjoyed a legislative victory that allowed thousands of Black North Carolinians to vote for the first time. That triumph came before the Federal Voting Rights Act, and was accomplished with the assistance of the NAACP, who according to Salter "was finky as hell in North Carolina and wouldn't come east of Durham" (Salter, 2005).

Salter's voter registration efforts soon expanded across the region, eventually canvassing five counties [Bertie, Northampton, Hertford, Nash, and Edgecombe]. In late 1963, Salter, along with Ella Baker, who had previously worked for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, toured the state, campaigning for the Civil Rights Act, which became law the next year.

In the course of the work, we broke the hard lines of resistance to social change, thousands were enfranchised, forced desegregation, massive school desegregation, and then integration as things went on. We drove the United Klans out of the northeastern North Carolina black-belt. (Salter, 2005)

In 1969, Salter began working with a Chicago Commons Association, a social service agency that aided about 300 community organizations throughout the South and Southwest side of Chicago. “We worked mostly with Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and some Chicano people, and those whites who would work with us” (Salter, 2005). Salter, through his association with the Chicago Commons, challenge the entrenched Chicago mayor, Richard Daley, the city’s police department, Hubert Will, a local judge, as well as Daley’s opposition in the Republican party. Surprisingly, Salter forged coalitions with intercity gangs, who promotion causes that benefited the poor and marginalized. “We had alliances with the Disciples youth gang, who protected us and worked with us, worked with us when we unseated a Daley Democrat and put in Anna Langford, a Black independent woman lawyer, who served very well as alderperson” (Salter, 2005).

In the years since 1973, when Salter left the Chicago Commons Association, he has periodically returned to higher education, once teaching at Navajo Community College, and later serving as a professor of Indian Studies at the University of North Dakota, where he directed the school’s honors program.

Today, Salter lives near Gray’s Lake [Idaho], which was named for Salter’s great, great, great-grandfather, John Gray, a half-Mohawk and half-

Scottish leader of the Iroquois, who was a western fur trader and hunter during the early 1800s. In remembrance and honor of Gray, Salter, long after the Jackson Movement, legally changed his name to “Hunter Gray.”

Well, I’m a hunter, but I’m getting more gentle as the years pass. But the point is that in a study of John Gray, done decades after that, some of the most astute people studying the fur trade came to the conclusion that his great contribution was representing the Indians very, very effectively. No Mine Mill organizer, no Wobbly walking-delegate, could ever do a better job. But at the same time, he could communicate with the whites. (Salter, 2005)

#### Dr. Ernst Borinski

For years after the Jackson Movement, Dr. Ernst Borinski, the beloved sociology professor and founder of the “the lab,” which once served as Mississippi’s only integrated place for cross-racial dialogue and discourse, continued to arouse the intellectual curiosities of his students. His pupils, both at Tougaloo College and at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, where Borinski taught summer classes, greatly admired the man whom they, without his knowledge of it, nicknamed “Bo Bo.”

Throughout his teaching careers, especially during his years at Tougaloo, Borinski earned the veneration of his students, as he encouraged them to seek justice and equality in their own individual way. His impact seemed to have never lessened, even during the last years of his life.

Friends remember Borinski with words of praise and adoration. They described his contributions to their lives, as well as his impact to the Civil Rights Movement. Richard P. McGinnis, a former professor at Harvard who later became Tougaloo's Dean of the Division of Natural Sciences and Mathematics, writes: "I can't think of anybody that had, in a way that I can't put my finger on, a really profound influence on my life in so many different ways" (as cited in Edgcomb, 1993, p. 119).

The successes of his understudies in prominent graduate programs, as well as their scholarships and accolades, best typify Borinski's own accomplishments. "Tougaloo sociology majors had a record of winning Danforths, Fords, Woodrow Wilsons, and ASA Minority Fellowships that compare favorably with the most prestigious schools in America" (Edgcomb, 1993, p. 127). Borinski's personal vita provides a glimpse of his own assessment of his contribution.

I was fortunate enough to help the Tougaloo academic community, the Jackson community, and the Mississippi communities at large in the renewal of our society thanks to the cooperation and resources, which were made available by progressive sectors of our community and by the participation of the regional and national forces which worked toward ending the segregated patterns in the South. (as cited in Edgcomb, 1993, p. 128)

Frances Coker, a sociology professor at Millsaps College and Jackson native, describes Borinski's impact on his most promising students with whom he



spent much of his time. She also notes that Borinski's influence reached beyond his young scholars, sometimes extending to their families. Borinski, who lived alone on the Tougaloo campus, was frequently invited to spend holidays with the families of his students or colleagues. Borinski took special interest in the younger members of the various families, inquiring about the children's interests, activities, and academics. Coker, commenting on Borinski's presence at the gatherings of her own family, notes that Borinski "opened the eyes of the younger children of her family," for whom he was deeply and clearly interested.

He loved children and he liked the holidays. And he always bought gifts and he had parties for them, and he loved to observe their progress in whatever it was that they were doing. He was very much in it and encouraged them in any and everything they could possibly do. (as cited in Edgcomb, 1993, p. 126)

Clarice Campbell, one of Borinski's former colleagues, remembers the isolation that Borinski, like many members of the Tougaloo faculty, often felt as they were frequently shunned from Jackson society. She recalls that she, like Borinski, found companionship among fellow faculty and that she and Borinski were "in a good-natured competition" to see who could entertain the most guests for the nightly "Huntley-Brinkley" televised news report, noting that Borinski even "serves coffee when we occasionally go there."

Joyce Ladner, one of Borinski's sociology students during the days of the Jackson Movement, and the first female president of Howard University, a graduate of Tougaloo, as well as Washington University in St. Louis, and a

former faculty member at Hunter College, believes that Borinski was lonely, though he lived on the campus and frequently entertained dinner guests. She remembers that Borinski was “a loner in a real sense” and was frequently seen by himself, as he ambled across the campus.

I can visualize him walking across the campus early in the morning from his private quarters in one of the dormitories—he had a suite, I guess—and he would walk across the campus by himself. And late at night, you’d see him again, walking by himself. (as cited in Edgcomb, 1993, p. 127)

Another former colleague, Dr. Jerry Ward, visited Borinski just days before Borinski’s death. He recalls Borinski’s reflections about his life, noting that Borinski said, “I’ve had a very long and happy life and all of my systems seem to be giving out, so I think it’s time to go.” Borinski died on May 26, 1983. He is buried in a cemetery on the Tougaloo campus.

#### Dr. Clarice Campbell

In the fall of 1964, Dr. Clarice Campbell, while preparing for upcoming classes at Tougaloo, found reasons for sanguinity following several victories in desegregation campaigns within Mississippi. The uneventful enrollment of the school’s class of new students exemplified some progression in race relations. That group, the most diverse freshman class in the school’s history, included a Jordanian, a Japanese student, as well as two White pupils. The lack of outcry from White Jacksonians strikingly contrasted with the hullabaloo of three years earlier, when Joan Trumpauer and Charlotte Phillips, both White students, were

admitted at Tougaloo, which led to an investigation by the Hinds County Sheriff's Office ("Miss. Sheriff Probes White," 1961, p. 23).

Campbell, in a letter to a friend, noted the progressive measures had occurred since her return in the late summer from Pittsburgh, where she attended a seminar for professors at Black colleges and university.

The Mississippi social climate is unbelievably different from what it was when I left in June – before civil rights laws. Two Negro students ate with three white faculty members (including me) at the Holiday Inn about three miles from here. This was beyond the realm of possibility in early June.  
(Campbell, 1997. p.227)

In the early summer of that year, Campbell and Jeannette King, wife of R. Edwin King, Tougaloo's chaplain, traveled to *Ole Miss* to support one of Campbell's former Black students, Cleveland Donald, who was admitted without fanfare or violence. Campbell, to her pleasure and surprise, found support for Donald, even discovering a group of students who had pledged to befriend Donald, while symbolically eating with him. "A student with whom we ate said some of the students had formed a 'We dig Donald' club to eat with him!"  
(Campbell, 1997, p. 221).

To her sadness and dismay, Campbell's church, Galloway Methodist Church, had yet to integrate its worship services. Campbell, a life-long Methodist, lamented the shortcomings of her denomination and was ashamed that it, through many of its southern congregations, failed to welcome all people. Campbell frequently challenged the intolerance of her fellow congregants by

bringing Black students and colleagues to Sunday worship. Repeatedly, church ushers turned her friends away.

Galloway is in the news so much—especially at General Conference discussions because of its refusal to allow visiting Negro and white ministers in, let alone Negro students. Most recently, on Palm Sunday, even Dr. Savithri, an Indian on a Fulbright Scholarship, was physically forced out of the church. On Easter Sunday, two bishops were turned away—one Negro and one white. (Campbell, 1997, p. 209)

Earlier that year, Campbell, in a letter to friend, expressed her displeasure with the church's leadership, lamenting her decision, two years earlier, to join Galloway. "Wish I had never joined Galloway Methodist. I can't bring myself not to go if the pastor appreciates my being there, and he does seem to. He says something each Sunday on the race problem now" (Campbell, 1997, p. 236). Galloway did not officially open its door to Black worshippers until January 10, 1966, several months after Campbell ceased her association with that congregation (Campbell, 1997, p. 241).

In September of 1965, Campbell left Tougaloo, after having entered the Master of Arts of History program at The University of Mississippi. Campbell, who already had a master's degree in public school administration, felt that she needed enhanced credentials if she were to continue teaching history. "I always had a feeling of guilt that I was teaching history without having a degree in history," (Campbell, 1981). Once on the Ole Miss campus, Campbell, at the encouragement of her professors, progressed to the doctoral program. She was

awarded that degree in 1969. Her dissertation, *Mississippi, the View from Tougaloo*, was published 10 years later, and remains the most comprehensive history of Tougaloo College.

In 1969, Campbell accepted a teaching position at Rust College, a historically Black school in Holly Springs, Mississippi. Her tenure there was uneasy for Campbell, as she repeatedly battled with the school's "authoritarian" administrators. The most notable clash occurred when Campbell and 27 other faculty members opposed the adoption of a three-week modular schedule, which permitted students to take only one course every three weeks. Much to the dissatisfaction of the faculty, the decision to implement the irregular schedule was made without their consent or counsel. For Campbell, this "was the straw that broke this camel's back," as she viewed modular schedules as an impediment to instructional quality and a threat to academic freedom (Campbell, 1981).

I felt very happy at Rust in my work, but there were many things about the administration that I did not like. But as long as I was left free to teach in my classroom, I would be content. To me, I was no longer free when the president went in for the modular system of education, rather than the semester system. I can teach facts in three weeks, but I cannot teach the development of ideas. You went through it so fast that students forgot what classes they were taking. The teaching became so unsatisfactory to me. (Campbell, 1981)

Rust students also found fault with the school's administrators, especially disliking Dr. W. A. McMillan, the school's president. On the evening March 31, 1977, following a meeting of the college's directors, about 200 students, even more disconcerted than the faculty, protested outside the college's administration building. Before the day's end, tensions escalated, with students setting fire to mattresses outside the library. "The students then marched to McMillan's home. Told he was not home, the marchers gathered on the ground floor of the 110 year old brick administration building" ("Student Protest Closes College," 1977, pp. 8-10). A blaze within the building erupted, and students "outside saw dark smoke and flames coming from the top of the three-story building" ("College Shut Down After Fire," 1977, p. C6).

Campbell retired from teaching the following year, regretting much of what had transpired at Rust, including her adversarial relationship with McMillan. Nonetheless, she found satisfaction in the totality of her teaching career. She noted this fulfillment in the "Epilogue" to her *Civil Rights Chronicle: Letters from the South*.

Just from my tenures have come elected officials, lawyers, judges, teachers, principals, college presidents, ministers, doctors, nurses, engineers, and researchers. There are artists and musicians—even the founder/director of the famous Harlem Boys Choir. And undergirding all are homes and businesses of integrity. (Campbell, 1997, p.245)

Campbell died on October 23, 2000.

### Anne Moody

In the spring of 1964, Anne Moody, one of the student participants in the Jackson Woolworth's sit-in the previous year, graduated from Tougaloo with a biology degree. Graduation came with a measure of disappointment for Moody, who, since her "coming of age in Mississippi," dreamed of becoming a medical doctor, desiring an eventual return to her hometown, Centerville, Mississippi, to become the community's "first black physician." Since youth, she aspired to "be the one to take care of her people." However, her two years at Tougaloo changed Moody, causing her to become more introspective, while enabling her to "silently bear the pain of much grief and suffering," including the death of her friend and mentor, Medgar Evers (Moody, 1985).

The realization that she should not pursue a medical degree came shortly before her graduation, as she became increasingly concerned for her own wellbeing and survival. Following graduation, her anxieties intensified and "became more real to me." In deciding to forgo medical school, Moody accepted the confines that southern traditions and mores had placed upon her. "I was not cut out to be a doctor in the state of Mississippi as long as I was black. The mere fact that I was a black person limited me" (Moody, 1985).

Moody understood the magnitude of her decision and was determined to "do something to correct this injustice." Through connections well established during her two years at Tougaloo, Moody continued "her work in the Movement," through a voter registration project a few miles north of Jackson, where Moody was well aware of "killings, murders, and intimidation" (Moody, 1985).

I became a full-time civil rights worker making twenty-five dollars a week in Canton. It was a small place in which blacks so outnumbered whites, that the whole world could see that it was ridiculous, just incredible really, that blacks didn't have any basic rights there. (Moody, 1985)

Moody, who began her work in Canton with enthusiasm, found local Blacks to be apathetic and unwilling to register. Despite her effort in neighborhood canvassing, Black residents often snubbed Moody while she knocked at their doors. Refusing to waver, Moody continued her efforts by asking leaders throughout the Black community to take a persuasive role, doing whatever possible to encourage and coax. Moody even convinced a "somewhat reluctant" Black insurance salesperson, who was welcomed by Canton's Blacks as a local and not "some outsider," to "help sell a little civil rights, too, Don't just sell insurance" (Moody, 1985). Notwithstanding numerous setbacks, Moody remained steadfast refusing to be dissuaded. "I am going to knock tomorrow, and the day after tomorrow, and the day after that" Gradually, the doors began to open" (Moody, 1985).

By late 1964, only months into her work at Canton, Moody became frequently apprehensive and uneasy, again fearing for own survival. Though hesitant to do so, Moody needed to leave Mississippi, after realizing that she should "step away" from the Movement, understanding that "sometimes you are too closely involved, and that you cannot continue." Moody believed that an exodus from Mississippi might save her life. She feared that she might undergo a fate like that of George Raymond, a fellow activist who died prematurely while



engaged in the struggle for civil rights. “He [Raymond] died at the age of twenty-nine years old. He was a fantastic person. He was opened armed and even married Canton girl. He died because of the betrayal. He just went away and died in New Orleans” (Moody, 1985).

With the passing days, Moody became increasingly convinced that the Movement was failing. She believed that it had “become stale, and that African Americans had lost interest.” Moody claims, “the movement took the people so far, but could not take them farther, adding, “we failed to come up with creative new methods of protest.” About the same time, the murder of another Black youth compelled Moody to leave the Deep South, so that she, without fear of her own death, could tell what was going on in Mississippi.

I got on a bus in Jackson, Mississippi. That bus was headed for Washington, D.C. I ran away from Canton when a kid had gotten his brains splattered all over the church grounds. I came into Jackson, and I just said, “This is so fantastic.” People outside must know what it is like. No suitcase, no clothes, not a toothbrush. Nothing. I just ran and got in it and sat down. I was in Washington without anything but what I had on my back and the shoes on my feet. Not a penny. (Moody, 1985)

For the next two years, Moody directed Cornell University’s civil rights programs, while penning the stories of her childhood and youth in Mississippi. Several of her friends, including Jackie Robinson, advised Moody to sabbatical in Europe, believing that away from the numerous speaking engagements and the demands of academia, she might better devote time to her autobiography.

Moody knew that she needed time before completing the book, *Coming of Age in Mississippi*, which was published in 1968. “I was too hurting. I waited until I had abandoned some of the hurt and pain” (Moody, 1985).

Moody’s book, a bestseller at home and abroad, was printed in seven languages, became assigned reading for students around the world, and was especially popular throughout Asia. “Even the Japanese are using it in their high schools and colleges as a textbook.” Moody was especially pleased, though several years later, to learn that students in Canton, Mississippi were required to read *Coming of Age*.

Over the following years, Moody worked on nine manuscripts, including *Farewell to Too Sweet*, an account of Moody’s relationship with her mother, who died in 1976. The book was never published.

I came back to Mississippi. I was in the hospital room with her. The book begins with her in the hospital room and ends with her death. In between that, I am sitting there and I am reviewing my life, the part of my life that I have lived since *Coming of Age* with her. That presents a very interesting way to do the sequel. (Moody, 1985)

For the next several years, Moody traveled throughout Eastern Europe, even begin honored with a fellowship in Berlin, Germany, and later residing in New York City. In the late 1990s, after inheriting property in Wilkinson County, Mississippi, Moody returned to her home state, where she still lives. She rarely makes public appearances.

### Joan Trumpauer

Like Moody, Joan Trumpauer graduated in the Tougaloo Class of 1964. Soon after completing her studies there, Trumpauer, believing that her work in Mississippi was finished, returned to Washington, DC. “Trumpauer felt that there was a time and place for everything and, once she had graduated, it was time to leave Mississippi and the student movement” (O’Brien, 2013, p. 252).

Once back to the places of her childhood, Trumpauer took a clerical position at the Smithsonian Museums. Her work there ended abruptly, when, a year later, Trumpauer accepted a job with the Community Relations of the United States Justice Department, the division that investigated cases of civil rights violations. In her work there, Trumpauer returned to the cause for which she had devoted much of her youth.

Through that job, she met the man who became her second husband, changing her name once again, this time to Joan Mulholland. After some travel abroad, the Mulhollands settled in Arlington, Virginia, and had five sons—fulfilling for a time Joan’s long-held intention to live a tradition family life. (O’Brien, 2013, p. 252)

Her marriage ended in divorce in 1975, though her husband continued to support Trumpauer in the raising of their children. Soon after the divorce, Trumpauer accepted a job with the Arlington County Schools, where she was a teaching assistant at one of the district’s elementary schools. Trumpauer enjoyed teaching and found the work to be gratifying.

In teaching, I discovered an avenue to help students see the global need for equity and justice. I especially enjoyed multicultural studies. My young students did not always recognize the multiethnic aspect of it, but I believe they benefited from the assignments, as did I. In many ways, it became an extension of my work in the Movement. (J. Trumpauer, personal communication, March 14, 2012)

Without having the day-to-day assistance of her ex-husband, Trumpauer devoted herself to her sons, always making them her top priority. “I wanted to support them and their individualities in every possible way. I was in their corners in anything they wanted to do” (J. Trumpauer, personal communication, March 14, 2012).

In the years following her departure from Mississippi, Trumpauer rarely spoke of her contribution to and her participation in the Freedom Rides and the Jackson Movement. While she did reminisce with her *movement friends*, mainly via long distance phone calls, she kept the details of those days even from her sons, who knew of their mother’s past only through her binders of newspaper clippings, articles, letters, records, and photographs, many of which are now yellowed and tattered.

Until recently, she seldom talked about her own heroism, believing that what she did was not exceptional. In the last few years, however, she has begun to take her experiences and archival material into high school and college classrooms to give students a first-person account of a movement that changed the course of American history. (O’Brien, 2013, p. 253)

In more recent days, particularly since her retirement from teaching in 2007, Trumpauer has recurrently visited Mississippi, usually participating in some “anniversary celebration” of the events of the early 1960s

Trumpauer still resides in Arlington, Virginia. Her home is in close proximity to some of the nation’s most powerful emblems of justice and freedom. Trumpauer frequently visits these places, especially the Smithsonian Museum of American History, which houses numerous displays and artifacts of the Jackson Movement.

In 2013, one of Trumpauer’s sons, Loki Mulholland, an award-winning film maker, directed, produced, and narrated a documentary film, *An Ordinary Hero: The True Story of Joan Trumpauer Mulholland*. The film details his mother’s involvement in the Jackson Movement and her lifetime dedication and devotion to the causes of fairness and human rights.

Reverend R. Edwin King, Jr.

While many of his friends, colleagues, and associates in the Civil Rights Movement left Mississippi, often for the Northeast or the Southwest, Reverend R. Edwin King, Jr. remained in Mississippi, peculiarly paired with and ardent about the place that had always been King’s home.

After the Jackson Movement, King participated in Freedom Summer, while fulfilling his call to Christian ministry as the chaplain at Tougaloo College. Moreover, King, as one of the founders of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party [MFDP], devoted time to the growing of the organization, hoping that it might someday nominate a viable candidate, who could challenge the

entrenched political system within the state. Through this work in the MFDP, King networked with local power brokers, established statewide connections within Mississippi's political elite, and gleaned still more recognition for his commitment to equal rights. Nevertheless, King was, in many quarters, still viewed as a radical troublemaker and "nigger-lover [sic]" (E. King, personal communication, March 1, 2012).

In some ways, to the contrary, King was a moderate. While many in the Movement transitioned to "Black Power," which tended to be hostile and fierce, King maintained a devotion to nonviolence, continuing to believe in the teachings of Gandhi, as well as the examples of his friend, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

In 1966, King ran for a seat in the Mississippi Fifth District, challenging a deep-rooted incumbent, John Bell Williams, who was later elected the state's governor. While King earned a 22 percent of the vote, primarily from the votes of African Americans, only a slight percentage of White Mississippians of the district voted for him. "King ran as a 'peace candidate,'" and "received 5 percent of the white vote in an election he lost by a landslide" (Marsh, 2008, p. 195).

Soon after his electoral defeat, King resigned from his position at Tougaloo and began working for Delta Ministry, an organization of the National Council of Church. In doing so, King again paired with his former boss, Dr. Adam Daniel Beittel, in working to better the lives of Black Mississippians. Beittel was a founding member of the Delta Ministry, which was established in late 1964, soon after Beittel's dismissal from Tougaloo.

In 1968, after just a year with the Delta Ministry, King moved his family to New Orleans, where, with the help of a grant from the Southern Regional Council, he worked on a manuscript about his time in the movement.

Despite his efforts, King never got his work-in-progress to a point where he felt comfortable publishing it. Life just seemed to keep getting in the way. (O'Brien, 2013, p. 267)

In 1974, King returned to higher education, teaching sociology and religion at Millsaps College, as well as courses on death and dying at the University of Mississippi's Medical School in Jackson. Six years later, while it seemed that King had reached the pinnacle of his professional career, his marriage began to unravel, ultimately ending in divorce. The divorce settlement, as well as Internal Revenue Service fines levied against King's previous earnings, were calamitous to King's finances, leaving him penniless.

As a result of his broken heart, his strained finances, and his tax woes, he lived alone for a time in a run-down rented house in a radically changing neighborhood in north Jackson and often wore secondhand clothes. He became one of the poor, or close to it, and learned to identify more completely with their struggles. (O'Brien, 2013, p. 268)

Over the next several years, with wages from faculty positions at Millsaps, as well as the state's medical school, King's financial condition improved. He retired from teaching in 2005.

Over the years, King has received numerous awards for his service to equal rights. Ironically, King was even recognized for his dedication to racial

justice by the Mississippi Conference of the United Methodist Church, an annual conference of the denomination that refused King “full membership” 40 years earlier. He was also the recipient of the 2012 Freedom Award of the National Civil Rights Museum in Memphis. In 2013, Millsaps College awarded King an honorary doctorate degree.

For most of his life, King has exemplified his devotion to Mississippi by living there. While many of the other Movement activists left for other places, King stayed.

Ed King remained in Mississippi long after the summer volunteers had moved on to new causes and new places; long after 60 percent of eligible blacks in Mississippi had registered to vote in 1967; long after the Freedom Democratic party effectively disbanded in 1968; after public schools were desegregated in 1970; after a Mississippi governor vetoed the appropriations bill for the State Sovereignty Commission in 1973; after Fannie Lou Hamer died in 1977; and after an African American was elected to congress in 1986. Through it all, he stuck with civil rights. (Marsh, 2008, p. 195)

Today, King still lives in Jackson, Mississippi. He continues to share his recollections of the Jackson Movement with audiences, often speaking at schools, churches, and colleges. He has yet to complete his memoirs, though he remains steadfast, convinced that he will someday finish that undertaking.



## CHAPTER XI

## CONCLUSION

Much to the disappointment and condemnation of many White Jacksonians, Dr. Adam Daniel Beittel and his wife, Ruth, soon after his involuntary retirement from Tougaloo College, purchased a house in Jackson [1666 Lelia Drive], an acquisition that signaled Beittel's intentions of making Mississippi his permanent home (Beittel, 1965).

While his advisories had succeeded in a well-orchestrated coup d'état at Tougaloo, Beittel refused to capitulate to his foes but began anew his work in the causes of human rights, advocating for the oppressed. Though involved with several organizations that focused on a multitude of varying concerns, Beittel devoted a majority of his time to bettering educational opportunities for Mississippi's Black children. He was one of the founders of the Delta Ministry, a program that promoted the desegregation of the public schools of the Mississippi Delta (Beittel, 1965).

Beittel's most substantial *post-Tougaloo* contribution to education occurred in 1965, with his leadership of Jackson's newly created Head Start program. Under Beittel's direction, and within the first year, the grant-funded program established a dozen preschools, which served over 1,200 of the city's poorest children (Beittel, 1965).

Also in 1965, he became a founder and first chairman of the board of the Child Development Group of Mississippi, a pioneering regiment of President Johnson's War on Poverty that during its two years of existence

established 125 Head Start centers and served fifteen thousand children across the state. (Beittel, 1965)

Even in such a seemingly benign and benevolent program, Beittel's detractors found fault. The *Jackson Daily News*, in detailing Beittel's role in Mississippi's Head Start program, reaffirmed its previous and ongoing claims that Beittel was allied with insurrectionary and subversive groups. "Beittel has been linked with the Southern Conference Educational Fund, the successor to the Southern Conference for Human Relations, which has been cited by the House Un-American Activities Committee as a Communist front" ("Beittel Gets Head Start Federal Job," 1965, p. B2).

In all of his roles, as he did during his presidency at Tougaloo, Beittel encouraged "white and Negro [sic] cooperation," advocating open discourses between the races. Hoping to create avenues for such dialogue, Beittel organized a weekly "interracial meeting" of clergy throughout the Jackson area, which he described as a "very informal kind of fellowship." The breakfast-gatherings were held "without incident" at the Admiral Benbow, a hotel that had desegregated just months earlier.

This is a group of white and Negro [sic] citizens of Jackson meeting together for conversation, frequently around some visitor who is brought in, who has something interesting to talk about, and develops, we hope, a sense of comradeship and understanding across racial lines, which is far too uncommon in a city like Jackson. (Beittel, 1965)

Beittel's desire to advance opened communications between the races may have contributed to his decision to travel to Memphis in March of 1968, where he joined a cadre of civil rights activists, including Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who had congregated in the "River City" in support of Memphis sanitation workers who had been on strike since the previous month.

For many years, the workers, a group of about 1,300 Black men, had passively endured appalling work conditions, low wages, and disrespect. Their willingness to overlook the ill-treatment changed following a deadly accident on February 1, 1968. On that afternoon, two workers caught in a storm, sought cover from the downpour in the rear compartment of their garbage truck. The men were killed when a lightning bolt triggered the truck's compactor. "They were crushed to death when a switch was accidentally thrown. The city refused to compensate the victims; families, and other workers were infuriated" (Posner, 2013, p. 1).

In late March, strike organizers persuaded King to lead a march through downtown Memphis, believing that his participation would garner nationwide publicity for the plight of the sanitation workers. Beittel joined King for the march, signifying his solidarity to the cause, his support of non-violent protest, as well as his friendship to and admiration of King.

The event, which seemed ill fated from the beginning, spiraled out of control when several youth in the rear of the march began throwing bricks through storefront windows. Organizers, believing that he could be injured in the brawl, rushed King to safety.

The melee that followed quickly eroded into bedlam, with police – some having removed their badges and identification numbers—chasing any black demonstrator they could find. Young rabble-rousers continued shattering store windows and grabbing whatever merchandise they could carry, while those who had come to march legitimately in support of the strikers fled in panic. (Posner, 2013, p. 6)

Later that evening, King, distraught over what had occurred earlier in the day, sought guidance from a core of allies, include Beittel, who encouraged King to return to Memphis for another march, which would occur early the next month. “The group recommended that King return to Memphis a week later to lead another march that could be better controlled. On Thursday, April 2, 1968, while in Memphis preparing for that follow-up march, King was assassinated” (O’Brien, 2013, p. 270). Just before his death, King said, “Nothing would be more tragic than to stop at this point, in Memphis. We have got to see it through. Be concerned about your brother. You may not be on strike. But either we go up together, or we go down together” (O’Brien, 2013, p. 270).

The following year, Beittel and Ruth relocated to San Rafael, California, where they lived for the rest of their lives. “Beittel continued his social activism in his new surroundings, serving, for example, as chairman of the board of Pilgrim Park, a low-cost housing project sponsored by the United Churches of Christ” (O’Brien, 2013, p. 270). Maintaining his connection to higher education, while sharing his knowledge of college administration, Beittel served on the Advisory Council at Marin Community College. He and his wife, maintaining their life-long

ties to the church, became active members in the United Church of Christ of San Rafael. During his last years, Beittel served as the congregation's treasure ("Adam D. Beittel Obituary," 1988, p. C1).

Following a brief illness, Beittel died on Thursday, July 26, 1988 ("Adam D. Beittel Obituary," 1988, p. C1). Ruth died 16 days later. Their ashes were scattered under a plum tree in the yard of the home where the couple lived the last 19 years of their lives.

### Beittel's Legacy

Adam Daniel Beittel's presidency at Tougaloo College was viewed in one of two ways. Allies applauded his leadership, especially venerating Beittel for his relentless opposition to segregation, a well-entrenched way of life in Mississippi, while foes deemed Beittel to be a "racial agitator," determined to "stir things up," while convincing the state's Blacks that they were unhappy under the traditions and mores of the Jim Crow South (Johnston's letter to Johnson, May 5, 1964).

The White Citizens' Council, the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission, and many White Jacksonians associated Beittel with *leftist leaning* and *communist affiliated* groups, though evidence for such loyalties never materialized. While he openly supported the Highland Folk Center in Tennessee, and was listed as "a supporter" on the center's literature, he was careful with the causes with which he aligned, aware of the potential repercussion for Tougaloo. Nonetheless, the Sovereignty Commission frequently investigated Beittel, often reporting their findings to the state's highest officials, including the Governor and Lieutenant Governor. Erle Johnston, the director of the Sovereignty Commission, who

exemplified the views of many White Mississippians, once noted that Beittel was “the cause of all of the agitation.” He, along with the vast membership of the Citizens’ Council, considered Beittel to be a traitor to his race and his country. “For white Mississippians, President Beittel was the symbol of communist influence at ‘cancer college’” (Dittmer, 1994, p. 234).

Many of Beittel’s detractors were angered by his willingness to lend Tougaloo’s campus as a meeting place for interracial get-togethers. While these assemblies occurred throughout the campus, many took place at Ernst Borinski’s *the lab*. For larger congregations, like the sold-out Joan Baez concern in the spring of 1964, the Woodward Chapel was used. Regardless of the exact location, the meetings occurred with Beittel’s knowledge and consent. During the time of Beittel’s tenure, the campus may have been the only place in Mississippi where Blacks and Whites could assemble. On these occasions, and in these venues, much to the chagrin of Beittel’s enemies, race barriers were torn down, while the commonality of humanity was better realized.

There’s a certain skepticism about white and Negro [sic] working together on any kind of program. Consequently, Tougaloo College would not be approved by many people in Mississippi—has never been approved because it really was established in 1869 on the basis of this cooperation. The ideal of this college from the very beginning was that it should be an integrated institution. (Beittel, 1965)

In a move that was provocative and offensive to White Mississippians who believed “race mixing” to be unnatural, against God’s will, and destructive to

society, Beittel recruited White students for Tougaloo, where they “slept, bathed, and ate” in the same dormitories as their Black peers. Beittel, not wanting to “perpetuate segregation, believed that “Tougaloo College certainly should look forward to becoming a fully integrated college” (Beittel, 1965). When Joan Trumpauer and Charlotte Phillips, both White students from outside of Mississippi, were admitted to Tougaloo during the fall of 1961, state and local officials objected, claiming that Tougaloo had violated the state’s constitution, which strictly prohibited interracial education. Beittel publicly defended the school’s position, cleverly noting that the school’s charter outdated the state’s constitution, and was therefore not subject to its regulations. In doing so, he challenged the widely accepted belief that Blacks and Whites should have separate and rarely equal educational facilities.

To the consternation of his adversaries, Beittel openly and overtly demonstrated his alliance with the Jackson Movement. In 1961, he visited the imprisoned Tougaloo Nine. That same year, he appeared on a television round table, defending his membership in the NAACP, as well as his school’s housing of several Freedom Riders. Two years later, with television cameras rolling, he implored Woolworth’s local management for assistance, asking that they instruct police to end the sit-in at the chain’s Capitol Street store. When those efforts failed, Beittel, publically taking charge of the deteriorating situation, phoned the company’s national headquarters. Though aware that members of the press were recording his actions, Beittel continued his deliberations with company officials, finally convincing them to close the store. Before the sit-in ended, Beittel

joined Salter and thee of his students at the Woolworth's counter. A photograph of Beittel *sitting in* appeared in newspapers across the country. "Although no wild-eyed radical – Beittel ran a tight ship on the Tougaloo campus – he was greatly admired for his courage and commitment" (Dittmer, 1994, p. 234).

Beittel's greatest contribution to the Jackson Movement may have occurred behind the scenes, as he unobtrusively supported students and faculty who participated in the Jackson Movement... in ways that he, in his role as college administrator, could not. As the school's president, Beittel could have rigidly enforced attendance policies that might have hindered the activism of students and faculty. Had Beittel thwarted their efforts by doing so, students, including Joan Trumpauer, Anne Moody, and Thomas Armstrong, might have been unable to participate fully in the Movement. "Our general policy was that students were free to organize themselves into any kind of group that they wanted to organize as long as it was within the law" (Beittel, 1965). Thanks to Beittel, faculty members, including Salter and King, realized that their jobs were never jeopardized. Because of this assurance, they had fewer apprehensions as they protested, picketed, and boycotted.

There were those who supported Beittel, inspired by his vision and his belief that Mississippi, if its people changed from the traditions and customs of a forlorn past, would become a better place for all its citizens, Black and White. His devotees included a company of priests, rabbis, activists, poets, actors, folksingers, college presidents, and other academicians who saw Beittel as a "light beacon" bringing hope and opportunity to Mississippi's defenseless,



susceptible, and impoverished citizens. They believed him to be insightful and courageous. Oddly, these devotees praised Beittel for the very actions and deeds that others derided (letter “to friends,” from Law, Gray, and Nussbaum, May 4, 1964).

Though there remains conflicting assessments of Beittel’s presidency, the impact of his administration should not be underestimated. Many of the Movement’s most active participants, including Joan Trumpauer, doubt that Jackson Movement would have occurred without Tougaloo, which she, like others in the movement called an “oasis.” Without Beittel, that sanctuary might not have been available for Movement activities.

The Movement, I think, would have been significantly different, were it not for Tougaloo and Dr. Beittel, if it would have happened at all. I like to believe that it would have happened without him, but I’m not sure about that. I don’t know how everything would have come about without the college and without Dr. Beittel. Movements need a place for people to come together, to organize, to mature and to grow. Tougaloo was that place for us. Tougaloo provided us a place to reenergize, and was a place that we could depend on. It became the meeting place of the Movement. Dr. Beittel made the meeting place possible. (J. Trumpauer, personal communication, March 14, 2012)

Beittel’s willingness to offer that “meeting place,” as well as his tendency to defend the Jackson Movement and its participants, both publically and surreptitiously, made him a target for an entrenched and influential coalition of

segregationists. Ultimately, that force was too much for Beittel and his less alliance to “overcome.” While the Jackson Movement was fruitful in many ways, the costs were extremely high. Though the Movement led to the desegregation of Jackson’s churches, libraries, and entertainment venues, as well as the city’s downtown shopping district, lives were lost, while others were destroyed. With his dismissal from Tougaloo, Beittel’s career in higher education administration was over. It was not the ending that Beittel sought or anticipated.

Beittel’s influence has been enduring. King, Salter, Trumpauer, and Moody credit Beittel greatly for his leadership of Tougaloo during the early 1960s. Were it not for Tougaloo, the resistance to progressive social change might have been a long time coming. Were it not for Beittel, Tougaloo’s participation as an “oasis” or “haven” or “sanctuary” is in doubt.

King, Salter, Trumpauer, and Moody are the obvious benefactors of Beittel’s leadership at Tougaloo, yet there must be countless others... young Black students who benefited from exchange programs with prestigious northern schools, or White students whose lives were forever enriched by the opportunity to study in the South at a HBCU. On the other hand, what about those who take for granted the liberty associated with being able to sit where you choose when riding a public bus, attending a play or concert, or while worshiping in any number of churches throughout the Jackson area? Is it an exaggeration to give Beittel credit for such things? While he did not act alone, it could be fairly argued that he set the wheels in motion for allowing many of the changes to occur. His contribution to racial justice and equality is worth of additional study and review.

## APPENDIX A

**Oral Histories**

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E. King, personal interview, March 5, 2012

E. King, personal interview, March 6, 2012

J. Garner, personal interview, February 16, 2012

J. Trumpauer, personal interview, March 13, 2012

J. Trumpauer, personal interview, March 14, 2012

J. Trumpauer, personal interview, May 10, 2013

M. Watson, personal interview, December 16, 2012

M. Watson, personal interview, December, 17, 2012

## APPENDIX B

### **Archives**

Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, New Orleans, LA.

Millsaps College Library and Archives, Jackson, MS.

Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson, MS.

Tougaloo College Library and Archives, Jackson, MS.

### **Special Collections**

Adam Daniel Beittel Papers, Mississippi Digital Library

Edwin King Papers, Tougaloo College Collection, Mississippi Department of  
Archives and History, Jackson, MS

Ernst Borinski Collection, Tougaloo College Collection, Mississippi Department of  
Archives and History, Jackson, MS

Ernst Borinski Letters, Millsaps College, Jackson, MS

John and Margrit Garner Letter, Tougaloo College Collection, Mississippi  
Department of Archives and History

Kudzu Collection, Tougaloo College Collection, Mississippi Department of  
Archives and History, Jackson, MS

Tougaloo Nine Collection, Tougaloo College Collection, Mississippi Department  
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Virgia Brocks-Shedd Papers, Tougaloo College Collection, Mississippi  
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Beittel's letter to Price, May 27, 1964.

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Beittel's letter to Sweet, May 20, 1964.

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Beittel's letter to Van Hecke, April 19, 1961.

Beittel's personal notes, April 17, 1961.

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